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CATALOGUE OF

the R.P.V. BRETTELL COLLECTION of

COINS OF EXETER

and Civil War Issues of Devon

DAY OF SALE

WEDNESDAY, 28th OCTOBER 1970

commencing at 10.30 a.m. precisely

ON VIEW Monday and Tuesday prior to Sale
9.30 a.m. to 12 noon and 1 p.m. to 4.30 p.m.

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Care is taken to describe accurately the condition of coins and medals, using the following scale: *Extremely fine, Very fine, Fine,* and *Good*. Where no condition is stated it may be assumed that the coins and medals are not in good condition.

FOREWORD

THIS catalogue lists for sale coins of Exeter and other Devon issues of the Civil War. It is probably the most comprehensive collection of coins of Exeter ever got together, more especially in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman series. Mr. Brettell has collected since he was a boy, but it was only immediately before the war that he began to specialise in issues of the Devon mints.

The format of the catalogue is based on that of the Sylloge series, yet giving details, such as condition and rarity, necessary to an auction catalogue. Every coin is illustrated and so offered for sale separately. Information given includes the moneyer's name (as a sub-heading between lots), type, mint reading, die axis (usually to the nearest 90° unless it very obviously lies between) and references to similar or comparable pieces (only to the end of the Tealby issue of Henry II). References are usually to Hildebrand (H) or British Museum Catalogue (BMC), but on occasion to the Copenhagen (C), Fitzwilliam (F) and Stockholm (S) Sylloges. The figure in brackets given with the Paxs type of William I denotes the heraldic quarter of the reverse in which PAXS begins.

Wherever possible, provenances have been given. Auction sales, most of which need no explanation, are followed by the relative lot number in brackets. By far the most frequent source quoted is "Simpson", Mr. Brettell having, in 1955, purchased the collection of the late Stephen Simpson, of Spitchwick Manor, Poundsgate, near Newton Abbot. Unfortunately, Mr. Simpson does not appear to have noted the provenances of his coins, but it is very obvious that many of the rarer pieces are those that had been recorded but had since been untraced. Other sources include the collections of the Duke of Argyll and W. R. Hooper, of Torrington (both purchased by Spink and Son, Ltd.), S. R. Naish and Raymond Carlyon-Britton (both purchased by B. A. Seaby, Ltd.) and W. C. Wells (purchased by the cataloguers). The A. F. V. Radford collection was sold at Sotheby's 12th June, 1944; listed in the same catalogue were Roman Coins "the property of the late E. Heron-Allen, F.R.S.", the provenance suggested for Brettell No. 245. Two coins, Brettell Nos. 297 and 314, were part of a small parcel of 16 coins (14 of Henry I, type XV, and 2 Tealbies) purchased from, and perhaps found in, the Bedford area. Mr. Brettell's tickets, and those of former owners, are offered with the coins.

As he had recently given some thought to the activities of moneyers of the South-Western mints, Mr. Ian Stewart kindly offered to write an introduction to the catalogue. In the very short time available he has produced a detailed article, containing most useful tables for easy reference, and at the same time put forward facts and ideas which can only stimulate interest and further study. Thanks are also due to Mr. Frank Purvey, who photographed the coins for the plates, and the Department of Coins and Medals for making facilities available for Mr. Simon Bendall to weigh the coins.

PETER MITCHELL,

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NOTE.—We shall be pleased to execute commissions to purchase Lots, free of charge, for Clients unable to attend the Sale personally. Lots will be purchased in the nom-de-plume of "GRAHAM" and will be secured as much below limits as possible.

THE EXETER MINT AND ITS MONEYERS

by IAN STEWART

EXETER has a long history. It was the centre of the British tribe of the Dumnonii, and known to the Romans as Isca Dumnoniorum. Like Exbridge, Exminster and Exmouth, it takes its name from the river Exe on which it stands. Its strategic position ensured a stormy history. It was seized by the Danes, blockaded by Alfred, recaptured from the Britons by Athelstan, destroyed by Swein of Denmark, beseiged by the Conqueror, held for a time both for Matilda against Stephen and for Charles against Cromwell, and visited by William of Orange in 1688 on his march to London. A borough from the tenth century or earlier, it became the seat of Bishop Leofric in 1050 when the see of Devon and Cornwall was transferred from Crediton.

Coins were minted at Exeter from the end of the ninth century to the end of the seventeenth, though far from regularly or continuously during that time. Little is known of its activity from Alfred to Edgar because the coins of the time rarely bore a mint name. But for the next two and a half centuries money was coined regularly at Exeter. During the reigns of Ethelred II and Cnut it was one of the larger mints in the country. From Henry II's time Exeter took part in a number of recoinages—1180, 1205, 1248, 1300 and 1695—being the most significant place in the far West Country for the purpose of withdrawing old currency and producing new. It was also an active mint in the Civil War, serving the Royalist forces in Cornwall and Devon.

Prior to Edgar's reform, the mint name is in a Latin form, e.g. *Exaniae Civitas,* and in 1300 it is *Civitas Exoni(a)e.* In between, though there is an odd survival early in Ethelred's reign of the form *Exan,* the usual mint reading is *E(a)xecestre* or an abbreviation of it. In Domesday it is *Execestre,* or similar, and the form found on Henry III's recoinage is *Eccetre.* On the whole there is little ambiguity in the Exeter mint signature, although coins of Axbridge, Canterbury, Leicester, Malmesbury and Oxford have at one time or another been attributed to Exeter on the basis of misreadings or ambiguous inscriptions.

Since the dispersal of the Exeter portion of Mr. Brettell's collection, including numerous and important pieces of all these periods, affords an occasion for recording a fuller series of Exeter coins than has ever previously been available at one time, particularly with regard to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman material, it has seemed worthwhile to preface the catalogue with a survey of the mint and its moneyers. There has not been time to search more than the most accessible sources, but it is hoped that the collation of Exeter material here attempted will serve a useful purpose until a more comprehensive study can be made of this, the most important mint in the counties of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset.

The collection was arranged by Mr. Brettell according to moneyers within reigns, on the same system as used by Hildebrand in his catalogue of the systematic collection in Stockholm and more recently in the Sylloge of the Copenhagen collection. This arrangement has been retained in the catalogue, and the tables and notes below on individual moneyers are treated in a similar way. In the tables, the letter B indicates a type

represented in the Brettell collection and therefore illustrated by at least one specimen in this catalogue. An X indicates a known type not represented in this collection, and a reference to the most accessible record, and if possible illustration, of the type in question is given under the moneyer concerned. In this connection, it is worth noting that the work of the Devonian Sainthill on coins of the mints of his native county, scattered through the two volumes of *Olla Podrida,* is still useful, not least for the admirable line drawings of many coins, including some of which illustrations are not otherwise available (*e.g.* William II, BMC type III).

During the later Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, the Exeter mint was both part of a national administration and an important regional centre in its own right. The former aspect is reflected in conformity to national patterns of coinage and to centrally promulgated coin-types; the latter in certain characteristics of West Country coinage which are noted in the following pages. Often dies were issued from London, like those of other mints throughout the country: this was certainly the case in the later recoinages between 1180 and 1695, and probably also during much of the two centuries before 1180. On other occasions the distribution centre for Wessex seems to have been Winchester, as under Alfred or in the later period of the *Crux* issue of Ethelred (*Intermediate Small Cross* type).

Localized die-cutting in the Devonshire area has been postulated in the Edwig-Edgar period and at the end of Ethelred's reign and the beginning of Cnut's. There are also certain typological variations, of a local character, which involve Exeter and neighbouring mints, such as the absence of Ethelred's true *Benediction Hand* type but the existence of mules with *Crux* reverses, and the occurrence of an early variant of the *Crux* type itself with a right-facing bust. Other typical features of Exeter coinage are the greater frequency of the Harthacnut than of the Cnut reading on coins of the *Arm-and-Sceptre* type, and of obverses of Harold II without the sceptre than of those with it.

There are also a few instances of the use of irregular and perhaps locally made dies at Exeter in coinages where die-cutting appears generally to have been centralized. One of these (Brettell No. 62) is a makeshift *Crux* type reverse of Ethelred used with an obverse of the *Intermediate Small Cross* issue. Another occurs in the sixth type of William I and a third in the Tealby period. In any or all of these cases, some interruption in communications with the normal source of dies, or some local emergency, may have resulted in the need to manufacture dies on the spot without delay.

Mention should also be made of other irregular coins bearing the Exeter mint signature. Following the large payments of Danegeld in Ethelred's reign, English types were extensively copied in the Baltic region, the most popular type being Ethelred's *Long Cross*. Examples of this are Brettell No. 135 (*cf.* Copenhagen 1457 and Hild. 605) and Hild. 606, which are copied from Exeter coins of Wynsige. Copies of the *Crux* type are less common, but Brettell No. 133 (Copenhagen 1455-6) is copied from a coin of this type by the Exeter moneyer Aelfstan. A later imitation is the coin described and illustrated by Hildebrand as his type El of Cnut (H. 419). The obverse of this is copied from the *Quatrefoil* type, with an ornament

before the face, but on its reverse there is an annulet in each angle of a long cross. The inscription is clearly copied from an Exeter coin of Wine— PINE ON EAXE.

Before the end of Edgar's reign, evidence for the activity of the Exeter mint is scanty (see Table A). Coins are known with its mint signature of Alfred (871-99), Athelstan (924-39), Edwig (955-9) and the earlier years of Edgar (959-75), but they number less than two dozen in all. The code of laws, of uncertain date, issued by Athelstan at Grately in Hampshire gives the number of moneyers to which various mints were entitled, and Exeter, with two, figures amongst the relatively few named mints of Wessex, the others being Winchester (six), Southampton (two), Wareham (two), Dorchester (one) and Shaftesbury (two).

The earliest autonomous coinage of Exeter, and perhaps its earliest issue of all, belongs late in the reign of Alfred, when a distinctive coinage was produced at the two Wessex mints of Winchester and Exeter, having as reverse type the first three letters of the mint name written vertically down down the field. Until recently these extremely rare coins were each known from only two specimens, all from the huge treasure found at Cuerdale, Lancashire, in 1840, but the 1958 Morley St. Peter hoard from Norfolk contained two more of Winchester and another of Exeter. All three EXA coins are from the same pair of dies, and one of those from Cuerdale (the other is BMC 79) appropriately heads the Exeter series in the Brettell collection. This Wessex coinage did not long survive the death of Alfred, being known only at Bath at the start of the reign of Edward the Elder (899-924).

Under Edward and during much of the reign of Athelstan mint names are almost entirely absent from the coinage. There are, however, a few non-portrait coins of Athelstan, with a small cross as the type on each side (BMC type V), which carry an Exeter mint signature. Some have the circumscription RAEGENOLD MO EAXANIAE CIV, or similar, specimens being in the British Museum (BMA 516) and in the Forum hoard from Rome (No. 206); and another (Forum hoard 205) is of a moneyer Abun, reading EAX CIVITA.

Like Alfred's, Athelstan's introduction of mint names did not endure, and hardly any are found on the coins of either Edmund or Eadred. Brooke attributed some portrait coins of the latter (Brooke type 3) to the mint of Exeter, but this is a matter of considerable doubt. One of Ascer in the British Museum (Brooke *English Coins*, pl. XV, 7) and those of Wilfred read MONEIIX (BMC 120) or MOETAT(AT), and the explanation of these readings seems more probably to be in the fortuitous association of an E in the abbreviation of MONETA with an X as a space-filler. For a similar reason, coins of Edmund reading CLACMONEX or similar which have at times been allocated to Exeter (*e.g.* Lockett 588 and 3697) were rightly not accepted as such by Brooke. The same objection arises in the case of two supposed Exeter moneyers of Athelstan, Cenard (BMC 5) and Sigeland (Brooke p. 59), neither of whom were accepted as moneyers of this mint (or area) by Mr. Blunt in his paper on the coinage of this reign read to the British Numismatic Society on 28th June, 1966.

	Alfred	Edward the Elder	Athelstan	Edmund	Edred	Edwig	Edgar Pre-reform	Portrait/Small Cross Type			Later Ethelred
								Edgar	Edward	Ethelred	
No moneyer	B	Not Known		Not Known	Not Known						
Abun			X								
Raegenold			X				X				
Aethelgar						X					
Mangod							X				
Aelfstan							B	X		X	X
Aethelnoth								X			
Iohan								X	X		

Table A – Exeter Moneyers of the Early Period

A few of Edwig's coins do have mint names, generally as part of an inscription in horizontal lines, but in this reign (BMC type V) and the earlier part of Edgar's (BMC type III) a south-western type occurs with a small cross and circumscription, the coins being characterized by unusually broad flans, very small neat letters (including A with top bar but no cross-bar and S as Z), and a tendency for the inscriptions to begin and end with a cross and to contain stops (a cross, group of three pellets or colon) before the mint name if present. Of Edwig, there is a coin of this kind in Copenhagen (Sylloge No. 762) by the moneyer Aethelgar with the indisputable mint signature EXA CI(VITAS), and the only other two mints of this group which can certainly be identified are both in Devonshire, Totnes and Barnstaple. Of Edgar, comparable coins which can be attributed to Exeter have been found in the 1894 Douglas (Isle of Man), the 1929 Smarmore (Co. Louth) and the 1950 Chester hoards. The coin thought to be from the Douglas hoard is a fragment reading R–OLD MO EXA (BNJ XXXV, pl. XIV, 18). The moneyer is presumably Raegenold like Aethelstan's, and, although at least twenty years apart in time, perhaps the same man, since coins without mint name exist by a moneyer or moneyers Raegenold of all the intervening reigns, his coin of Eadwig (Lockett 2749) having, significantly, three pellets at the end of the inscription on the obverse. The Smarmore coin, which is in the National Museum in Dublin, is by the moneyer Mangod and also reads EXA CI (BNJ XXVII, pl. VI, 54). The Chester example (BNJ XXVII, pl. V, 459) is from the same pair of dies as Brettell No. 2, and reads MO:E+, the cross being probably not designed as an X. An Exeter attribution can, however, be regarded as probable in view of the apparently deliberate colon after MO and the Devonshire connections of the group. The inscription begins EAD (trefoil) AELFZTAN, the first three letters being perhaps not part of the moneyer's name—possibly a repetition from the royal name, as if the engraver had started to cut the die as for an obverse—since Aelfstan is known to have been an Exeter moneyer in Edgar's recoinage and in the first half of the reign of Ethelred II.

A coin of Edgar's pre-reform portrait type in the Chester hoard (pl. V, 492), of the moneyer WHEBIRHT, was doubtfully assigned to Exeter as reading MOEA, but this may be no more than a contraction of MONETA.

There is no reason to suppose that Exeter was not active between c. 900 and the end of Edgar's reign at other times than the few occasions on which signed coins were struck. Some clues as to the coins which may have been struck there can be had from following forward or backward the names of moneyers, such as Raegenold, who struck coins with the mint signature, though there are dangers in assuming that the same name necessarily refers to the same moneyer, or that the same mint is to be implied. For example, Mangod, though an Exeter moneyer's name early in Edgar's reign and in the middle of Ethelred II's, coins at Winchester under Edwig (BMC pl. XII, 13), and Raegenold is itself a Winchester moneyer's name in Edgar's recoinage. Like those of most other mints in the first three-quarters of the tenth century, Exeter's coins cannot for the most part be identified specifically. The regional attribution of English coinage of this period remains a major problem, and one which requires much further study.

The main features of the monetary reform introduced by Edgar not long before his death in 975 were the standardisation of the coin type (with a portrait on the obverse) throughout the kingdom and the invariable record of the mint as well as the moneyer's name on the reverse The type, which has a small cross on the reverse, was continued unchanged under Edward the Martyr (975-8) and was not immediately replaced on the accession of Ethelred II (978-1016). Exeter coins of the new type are known of all three reigns, although owing to the lack of hoards the type is especially rare for southern mints and it is unlikely that surviving coins are anywhere near fully representative.

The moneyers of the reform type are:

AELFSTAN, as mentioned above perhaps a pre-reform moneyer, and a name found also in the first two main types of Ethelred: Aelfstan's reform coin of Edgar is illustrated in the Copenhagen Sylloge, No. 769 (*cf.* H.6). No coin of Edward is known, but there is a specimen of Ethelred's *First Small Cross* in Stockholm (H.461), with the reverse reading MOT EXAN, both early forms which were soon to be superseded. His later issues are represented by coins of *First Hand* and *Crux* in the Brettell collection, and of *Second Hand* in Copenhagen (Sylloge No. 146, *cf.* H.466).

AETHELNOTH is known only from a coin of Edgar in the Igelösa hoard.

GODWINE's early coin of Ethelred is H.541 (H. B. A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency,* pl. I, 3), and he was also active in the earlier part of the next type (*First Hand,* Brettell Nos. 71-3; see below).

IOHAN's name is found only under Edgar and Edward. Of the former, his coin in the British Museum (BMC 6) has the spelling Iuhan; of Edward, his coin is illustrated in the Glasgow Sylloge, No. 740 (*cf.* H.4). This is a most unusual name at this period and one not otherwise found on English coinage between Edgar's reform and the reign of Stephen, although it had occurred on coins of Athelstan.

Edgar's system developed into a pattern of regular type changes with at least partial withdrawal of earlier issues. In Ethelred's reign there were five such main types—*Hand* (with two major and one minor division), *Crux* (Hildebrand type C), *Long Cross* (D), *Helmet* (E) and (*Last*) *Small Cross* (A)—and in Cnut's (1018-35) three—*Quatrefoil* (E), *Pointed Helmet* (G) and *Short Cross* (H). After Cnut's death, the names of both his sons Harold and Harthacnut appeared on coins of *Jewel Cross* type for a period of theoretical joint rule (1035-7), but Harold emerged as sole king and struck a *Fleur-de-Lis* type (1037-40). The coins of Harthacnut's sole reign (1040-2) have a new type of portrait showing his *Arm-and-Sceptre,* and some of them have the name shortened to *Cnut.* The more frequent change of type was maintained under Edward the Confessor (1042-66) and indeed throughout the Anglo-Norman period until the Civil War of Stephen's time when the coinage system fell casualty to the general breakdown of administration.

The known types of Exeter coins and their moneyers of this period are set out in tables B, D, F and G. All the main types are recorded for this mint from Edgar to the end of the reign of William II, but the most plentiful

are those of Ethelred and Cnut, during whose reigns Exeter and the other south-western mints were at their most active. Out of 772 coins of these two kings found in the recent hoard from Tingstäde on Gotland, as many as 44 were of the Exeter mint, which, even if the hoard is not fully representative, gives some measure of its relative importance at this time. The material for Ethelred and Cnut is now well illustrated in the Sylloge volumes of the Royal Collection in Copenhagen, which, though less complete than the systematic collection in Stockholm catalogued by Hildebrand, nevertheless covers the series quite fully.

An important feature of West Country coinage, particularly at this period, is the occurrence of certain moneyers' names at more than one mint in circumstances which suggest that the moneyer could well have been the same individual. Under each name notes have therefore been added recording any other mint in the area where the same name occurs without a significant gap in time. This pattern is observed even as late as the Norman period, and although the marked regional associations of certain names may in some cases account for their multiple occurrence on the coinage of the area, there are others, such as Hunewine, where a single individual seems to be implied by the rarity of the name itself, by the sequence of types in which the various mint names occur, and by the discovery of an obverse die-link between two of them. A number of such obverse die-links involving the Exeter mint have been already discovered, as noted below, but it is hoped that the record of which names are found elsewhere may lead to the identification of others.

The first new type of Ethelred's reign, with the Hand of Providence on its reverse, exists in three clear divisions, of which *First Hand* (Hildebrand B1) has no sceptre and *Second Hand* (H. B2) a trefoil-headed sceptre and extra ornaments on the reverse. Exeter coins of both are quite plentiful. None, however, are known of Exeter, or indeed of any other mint in this area, of the late *Benediction Hand* type (B3), which has a cross-headed sceptre on the obverse. That obverse dies at least of this type reached Devonshire is demonstrated by the existence of mules (of extremely rare occurrence elsewhere in the country) between *Benediction Hand* obverses and *Crux* reverses at Barnstaple (moneyer Byrhsige, H.27) as well as Exeter (moneyer God, Brettell No. 68). In addition to Aelfstan and Godwine continuing from *First Small Cross,* there are six new moneyers' names which begin at Exeter in *First Hand* and five more in *Second Hand.* The new names found in *First Hand* are:

Aelfnoth, who is recorded for *First* and *Second Hand, Crux, Long Cross, Helmet* and *Last Small Cross,* all represented in this collection except the first (H.447). The name is also found at Axbridge in *Long Cross,* but from only a single pair of dies.

Brun's Exeter coins are of *First Hand* only, and the same name occurs in this type on the unique coin of the Cornish mint of Launceston in the British Museum ex Montagu (BNJ XXX, 62). A Bruna, probably not the same man, occurs at Lydford in *Helmet, Last Small Cross* and Cnut's *Quatrefoil.*

Byrferth, a rare moneyer, is known at Exeter in *First Hand* (Copenhagen 152), *Crux* and *Long Cross,* and at Totnes in *Helmet.*

	Earlier	Small cross (1st) A	Hand B1	Hand B2	Crux B/C	Crux C	Crux Ca	Crux Cb	Long cross D	Helmet E	Small cross (last) A	Cnut
Aelfmar										B		
Aelfnoth			X	B		B			B	B	B	
Aelfric							X	X	X	B		?
Aelfstan	X	X	B	X		B						X
Aethestan											B	
Brun			B									
Byrferth			X			B			B			
Byrhied (?)								X				
Byrhsige			B	B		B						
Byrhstan				X		B		X			B	
Byrhtric									B			
Carla									B	B	B	X
Cytel							B					
Dudel										B		
Dunstan									B			
Eadmaer											X	X
Eatstan											B	
Edric						B		B	B			
Edwine						X	X			B		X
God(a)				X	B	B	X		X	X	X	X
Godwine		X	B									X
Hunewine						B		X				X
Isegod											B	X
Leofric				B		B						
Leofsunu				B								
Luda			B	B		B						
Mangod									B			
Manna				X					B	X		X
Saewine											B	X
Thurgod											B	X
Tuna			B			B						
Wulfsige									B	B	B	X
Wulfstan									B	B		X
Wynsige						X		B	B			

Table B – Exeter Moneyers of Ethelred II

Byrhsige, at Exeter in *First* and *Second Hand* and *Crux*, is a name found in all main types from *First Hand* to Cnut's *Quatrefoil* at Barnstaple and also at Wareham in *First Hand, Crux* and *Long Cross*.

Luda is quite a prolific moneyer in the two *Hand* types and *Crux*.

Tuna is named on coins of *First Hand* and *Crux*, one of the latter in the Brettell collection (No. 110) having a small obverse die, with some similarity to the *Small Crux* issue (H. type Ca).

A coin of the *First Hand* type, with a reverse die of irregular style, supposedly reading leman m–o eaxe, was attributed to Exeter in the Lockett catalogue (lot 672). However, the reading is very doubtful and the mint at which this coin was struck, if an official one, is quite uncertain.

The two moneyers who began with *First Small Cross* (Aelfstan and Godwine) are of particular interest in that the name of each was to appear also at both Lydford and Totnes. Aelfstan continues at Exeter until *Crux*. and the name is then found in *Crux* and *Long Cross* at Totnes and in the latter at Lydford too. Godwine's coins at Exeter end with *First Hand*, but Lydford coins are known for *Second Hand* and an early variety of the *Crux* type with right-facing bust, and the name then appears at Totnes in *Crux* proper, *Long Cross* and *Helmet*. The sequence of types at the same three Devon mints for both Aelfstan and Godwine suggests that the same individuals may have been involved.

The five new moneyers in *Second Hand* are Byrhstan, God(a), Leofric, Leofsunu and Manna:

Byrhstan, recorded for *Second Hand* (Copenhagen 160), *Crux* (Brettell No. 29), *Intermediate Small Cross/Crux* mule (H.491) and, after a gap, *Last Small Cross* (Brettell Nos. 30-35), is not a name found at other mints in the area.

God, or Goda, is one of the most remarkable of the south-western names. Its Exeter representation runs from *Second Hand* of Ethelred (Copenhagen 183) to *Pointed Helmet* of Cnut. The *Crux, Helmet* and *Last Small Cross* types are not included in the Brettell collection but are illustrated in the Copenhagen Sylloge, respectively Nos. 181, 182 and 180. Beside the normal *Crux* type, this moneyer also struck a mule with an obverse of *Benediction Hand* (Brettell No. 68), an early variety of the *Crux* type with right-facing bust (H.4353), and the *Small Crux* variety (Copenhagen 185). Hildebrand No. 4353 is a most interesting coin. Like No. 3064 of Lydford, it was classed by Hildebrand as his type Cc, of which the illustrated example is a *Second Hand/Crux* mule. But on neither of these coins is the head diademed, and the suggestion of Mr. Dolley and Mr. Elmore Jones that the Lydford coin is really not a mule but an early transitional variety of the *Crux* type proper is greatly strengthened by the recognition of this second example at a neighbouring Devonshire mint. H.4353 is of additional interest in having the drapery fastened on the right (king's left) shoulder, a feature only otherwise found on comparable coins of Wilton and Hertford.

The name Goda is also found at no less than six other mints in the south-west, and the known types are set out in the following table:

	ETHELRED II						CNUT		
Hildebrand Types	B1	B2	C	D	E	A	E	G	H
Cadbury						X			
Exeter		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Gothaburh						X			
Ilchester	X	X	X	X	X		X		
Lydford			X	X		X			
Shaftesbury	X		X	X	X		X	X	X
Totnes						X			

Table C – West Country Mints of the Moneyer God(a)

The break at Ilchester and Shaftesbury comes exactly where Totnes, *Gothaburh,* and Cadbury appear. It is certainly curious that the name appears at Exeter, Ilchester, Lydford and Shaftesbury in consecutive types, but nevertheless it seems likely that less than four separate moneyers are involved. There are die-links between Exeter and *Gothaburh* in both *Last Small Cross* of Ethelred and *Quatrefoil* of Cnut, the former involving the moneyer God. The sequence of strikings in this link seem to be: God at Exeter, Wulfmaer at *Gothaburh* and then back to Exeter for Byrhstan. In view of the apparent mobility of Hunewine, discussed below, whose name appears at four of the same mints as God(a), it must be regarded as a distinct possibility that at all seven mints the latter name represents a single person. If so, it raises interesting considerations regarding the interrelation of local mints and their respective periods of activity within a particular type.

LEOFRIC's coins are of *Second Hand* and *Crux* at Exeter, and the name is also found at Ilchester in the latter type.

LEOFSUNU is recorded at Exeter only in *Second Hand.*

MANNA, though not known of *Crux* or *Last Small Cross* at Exeter, seems likely to be the name of a single moneyer at this mint from *Second Hand* (H. 576) to *Pointed Helmet* (Copenhagen 468-9); the Ethelred *Helmet* coin is Copenhagen 204. The name appears appears also at Totnes in *First Hand, Second Hand* and *Crux.*

One further name is given by Hildebrand under Exeter for *Second Hand,* CUDI (H. 503), but this is perhaps for LUDA, sometimes spelt LUDIA (H. 574).

Most of Exeter's sixteen *Crux* moneyers had already been active in *Hand*. The six who are new in the type are Aelfric, Cytel, Edric, Edwine, Hunewine and Wynsige:

AELFRIC: Coins of this moneyer begin in the *Crux* type, but not with the main issue, being of *Small Crux* (H. type Ca), a lightweight variety, struck on smaller flans from dies of reduced module (H. 454-5), and of H. type Cb, the mule with *Crux* type reverse and obverse (without sceptre) belonging to the *Intermediate Small Cross* issue (H. 456). Aelfric's *Long Cross* type is in the Copenhagen Sylloge (No. 143) and two specimens of *Helmet* are in the Brettell collection (Nos. 11 and 12). The continuity of a single moneyer named Aelfric is uncertain, since the name appears again under Cnut and Edward the Confessor, but with breaks from *Last Small Cross* to Cnut's *Short Cross* and in other main issues thereafter.

CYTEL's coins are all of the *Small Crux* variety, a most unusual feature.

EDRIC is well represented in *Crux* and *Long Cross,* and in three varieties of H. type Cb. One of these (Brettell No. 61) is a normal *Intermediate Small Cross/Crux* mule and the second is also a *Small Cross/Crux* mule but from a makeshift reverse die, with the letters CRVX retrograde, presumably manufactured locally when the *Intermediate Small Cross* type was withdrawn and reverses of *Crux* type were again required (Brettell No. 62). The third coin (Copenhagen 174) is also a mule, though its obverse is not of the *Intermediate Small Cross* issue but belongs to a small group of late (*Transitional*) *Crux* dies which often lack the sceptre and/or diadem and which have lettering from a new fount with top-barred A and various other characteristics. The obverse of Edric's coin is a very typical example of *Transitional Crux,* with a curly-headed portrait (stylistically approaching that of *Long Cross*), no diadem and no sceptre—the first (A) of Mr. Dolley's four varieties of *Transitional Crux* and known only of mints in the south-west (Bath, Dorchester, Exeter, Wareham and Winchester). The reverse of this coin has the normal lettering of *Crux* and it is therefore to be regarded as a mule. An Edric is also a moneyer at Taunton in *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil.*

EDWINE is found in *Crux* proper (Copenhagen 178), *Small Crux* (Copenhagen 177) and *Helmet* (Brettell No. 66). There is a long gap until this name appears again in Cnut's last type.

WYNSIGE's coins are mainly of *Long Cross,* but he is also known for *Crux* (Copenhagen 217) and Cb (Brettell No. 125).

In addition to the *Intermediate Small Cross/Crux* mules of Aelfric, Byrhstan, Edric, Hunewine (see below) and Wynsige, there are also coins of this type (British Museum, BNJ XXXVII, p. 16, fig. 4; H 528) from a second makeshift die, with the inscription EYRHIEDM–OEAYE. E for B is found elsewhere at this period (*cf.* coins of "Eyrhsige" at Wareham, Copenhagen 1299 and H. 3955), but although there are several Byr- moneyers at Exeter, there is none (such as Byrhtred) which would very obviously have given rise to this particular blundering. These coins are from the same obverse die as the Cb of Wynsige.

No Exeter coins are known of the true *Intermediate Small Cross* type, although all eight mints of the type are in the south and west, the nearest being Barnstaple and Ilchester. Generally the mints of the Cb mules and

of the *Intermediate Small Cross* type proper are mutually exclusive, though Ilchester is one of the three out of eleven Cb mints where the true type is also known to have been struck.

HUNEWINE is perhaps the most interesting of all names that occur on coins of Exeter. His types for this mint are few—*Crux* and Cb of Ethelred, *Quatrefoil* of Cnut and one or two Edward the Confessor types of c. 1050. However, the name Hunewine appears on every main type from *Second Hand* of Ethelred to *Pointed Helmet* of Cnut, at a total of six mints. The sequence is as follows:—

Type	*Mint*	*Reference*
Ethelred II		
Second Hand	Totnes	H. 3852-3
Crux	Totnes	H. 3854
,,	Exeter	Brettell Nos. 74-5; H. 544-5
,,	Ilchester	H. 1032
Int. Small Cross/Crux mules (H. type Cb)	Exeter	H. 546; BNJ XXVIII, pl. IV, 15
,,	Ilchester	BNJ XXXVI, pl. IX, 28 (Tingstäde hoard)
Long Cross	Watchet	H. 3882-4; Copenhagen 1274
Helmet	Watchet	H. 3885
Last Small Cross	Watchet	H. 3881
Cnut		
Quatrefoil	Watchet	H. 3587-8
,,	Exeter	BMC pl. XVII, 12
,,	Axbridge	BNJ XXX, pl. VI, 8-9
,,	Lydford	H.2509; BNJ XXIX, p. 67, fig.
Pointed Helmet	Lydford	H. 2510; BNJ XXIX, p. 67, fig.

It will be noticed that, with the exception of Hild. Cb, which is, anyway, only a mule type within the *Crux* issue, Hunewine's name does not appear in two consecutive types at the same two mints. This means that all the listed varieties could be explained as the products of a single moneyer on a protracted itinerary—starting at Totnes, passing *via* Exeter to Ilchester (or *vice versa*) in *Crux,* then on for a longish period of activity at Watchet before moving finally to Lydford, after brief stops at Axbridge and Exeter, early in Cnut's reign. The two Cb coins appear to be from the same *Intermediate Small Cross* obverse die, and this link between the Exeter and Ilchester mints would assist the probability of a single moneyer being involved at the various mints. Furthermore, Mr. Lyon has observed that Hunewine's *Quatrefoil* coin of Lydford appears to be from the same obverse die as a coin (H. 3589) of the moneyer Aelfsig at Ilchester.

Seven moneyers active in the *Long Cross* type have already been noted, having been active in earlier types. In addition there are six newcomers, Byrhtric, Carla, Dunstan, Mangod, Wulfsige and Wulfstan:—

BYRHTRIC is only known at Exeter in this type, but the name had appeared in *Second Hand* and *Crux* at Wareham.

CARLA is a name found at Exeter in the four types from Ethelred's *Long Cross* to Cnut's *Quatrefoil,* and again, after a break, in the *Jewel Cross*

issue of Harold I and Harthacnut. There are also coins of *Gothaburh* by this moneyer in *Quatrefoil,* and a die-link between his coins of the two mints (BNJ XXVIII, pl. XXII, A and 9) effectively establishes the identity of the moneyer at the two places. One of Carla's coins of *Last Small Cross* (Brettell No. 42) has the unusually full reading ON EAXCESTRE MO(*netarius*).

DUNSTAN, only known in *Long Cross,* appears nevertheless to have been quite a prolific moneyer, to judge from the number of surviving specimens.

MANGOD is also confined to this type, but his coins are much fewer.

WULFSIGE is known from *Long Cross* to Cnut's last type, with the exception of *Last Small Cross*. His coin of *Quatrefoil* is illustrated in the Glasgow Sylloge, No. 894.

The last four moneyers are only found at Exeter and not at other mints in the region.

Of the ten Exeter moneyers of *Helmet,* eight have been already named, and the other two, AELFMAR and DUDEL, are known only in this type; neither name occurs at any neighbouring mint.

No coins are known from mints in the south-west of the *Agnus Dei* type which was issued from a few towns, mostly in the midlands, at the transition from the *Helmet* type to *Last Small Cross*.

Of the eleven moneyers found at Exeter in *Last Small Cross,* five had been active earlier in the reign, two are only known in this type, and the other four were to continue into Cnut's reign. The two new moneyers of this type alone are:

AETHESTAN, also found at Lydford in the same type.

EATSTAN is not found elsewhere in the south-west.

The four moneyers who begin with *Last Small Cross* and also strike later (of whom only Saewine's name appears at other mints in the area) are:

EADMAER, who is known for all the main types from Ethelred's *Last Small Cross* (Copenhagen 170-1) to the second (*Radiate*) type of the Confessor, with the exception of Cnut's *Short Cross*. His coins of the *Quatrefoil* issue are represented in Copenhagen (Sylloge 431, 3259). His *Jewel Cross* coins have the names of both Harold and Harthacnut (H. 216). A cut halfpenny in the Brettell collection, No. 207, of the Confessor's first issue, the *Pacx* type, has the name Ed... and may be of this moneyer (*cf.* H. 89, 90).

ISEGOD lasts only into the first type of Cnut, *Quatrefoil* (H. 397-9).

SAEWINE's Exeter types, all represented in the Brettell collection, are Ethelred's *Last Small Cross* and Cnut's *Quatrefoil* and *Pointed Helmet*. In the last two of these, the same name is found at Lydford, and from *Long Cross* to *Quatrefoil* it occurs also at Shaftesbury.

THURGOD, like Isegod, ends in *Quatrefoil* (Copenhagen 483-4; *cf.* BMC 59).

During the last years of Ethelred's reign, the central administration was under strain and a clear pattern of regional styles can be observed in the *Last Small Cross* type which was in issue at this time. The Exeter coins of this type are of what Mr. Dolley has termed the "South-western" style, to

which all the coins of the other Devon mints (Barnstaple, Lydford and Totnes) and of certain other neighbouring mints (Cadbury, Dorchester, Taunton and the unidentified *Gothaburh*) belong.

Of the sixteen names recorded for Exeter in Cnut's first type, only six are new, Edsige, Godbryt, Godwine, Wine, Wulfmaer and Wulfric:

EDSIGE's coins are of *Quatrefoil* and *Pointed Helmet* of Cnut, and of Harold's *Jewel Cross* type. The missing type, *Short Cross,* is known with the name EDSIGE WARE, and there is therefore reason to think that the additional name may not in this case have been used to distinguish another moneyer. The name Edsige is not found elsewhere in the south-west at this time, and its recurrence in the fifth type of the Confessor may denote a different man.

GODBRYT is a *hapax* in the Anglo-Saxon coinage. This most unusual name occurs on a *Quatrefoil* coin in Copenhagen (Sylloge 455).

WINE's activity at Exeter appears to be confined to the *Quatrefoil* type. However, a moneyer by the name of WINAS or WINUS, who could possibly be the same person, strikes at Crewkerne, Ilchester and Cadbury between *Long Cross* of Ethelred and *Short Cross* of Cnut (see BNJ XXVIII, 101).

WULFMAER, a name hitherto unrecorded for Exeter, is a *Gothaburh* moneyer in the last three types of Ethelred and the first of Cnut. A *Quatrefoil* coin of Exeter in Copenhagen (Sylloge 486) reading WULFME is presumably by the same man.

WULFRIC is also known only for *Quatrefoil* (H. 420) and not elsewhere in the south-west in this or adjacent types.

GODWINE, a very common name and one which had already occurred at Exeter early in the reign of Ethelred, reappears at this mint in Cnut's *Quatrefoil,* probably representing a new moneyer. The name is also found at Ilchester in this type, and at Milborne Port, close to Ilchester, in the next type, *Pointed Helmet.*

As in Ethelred's last type, distinct regional styles can be identified in Cnut's first coinage. The Devonshire style (Mr. Dolley's style A), to which almost all the Exeter coins belong, is easily recognizable from the hoops of drapery around the neck. As well as the coins of Exeter, this style covers all those of Barnstaple and Totnes, some of Lydford, and some also of the Somerset mints of Crewkerne, Ilchester and Bath. There is also one Exeter coin (H. 369) of the moneyer Carla which Mr. Dolley classifies as of his style C, a style with its representation firmly centred in Somerset (Bruton, Cadbury, Ilchester, Langport, Taunton and Watchet), but with a few examples at Lydford as well as the one at Exeter in Devon. At Exeter there is, in addition, one *Quatrefoil* obverse die (H. 370; Copenhagen 429) with a diadem instead of a crown. This variant (Hildebrand's type Ed) has a regional focus in the Severn Valley, the main mints at which it is found being Bristol, Gloucester and Hereford. It is not otherwise found in Devonshire, except for the one case at Exeter, but it also occurs at Crick-

	Ethelred	Cnut			Jewel Cross			Harold I	Harthacnut		Edward
		E	G	H	Hld.	Hct.	Cnut	F-de-lis	Hct.	Cnut	Conf.
Aeficc	?			B							?
Aelfstan	X		X						X		
Aelfwine			B	B							X
Carla	X	B			X		X				
Dodda			X						B	X	X
Ealdabeard			B								
Edmaer	X	X	B		B	X		B	B		X
Edsige		B	B		B						X
– Ware				B							
Edwine	X			B						X	X
Goda	X	B	B								
Godbryt		X									
Godwine	X	X							X		X
Haerra					B	X					
Huneman				B							
Hunewine	X	X									X
Isegod	X	X									
Leofwine			B					B		X	X
Lifinc			X	X							X
Manleof								B	B		
Manna	X	B	X								
Saewine	X	B	B								X
Scula			X	X							
Thegnwine				X		X					
Thurgod	X	X									
Wine		B									
Wulfmer		X									X
Wulfnoth					X	B		X			X
Wulfric		X									
Wulfsie	X	B									
Wulfstan	X	X	B	B							
Wulfwerd			X								

Table D – Exeter Moneyers, Cnut to Harthacnut

lade and Bruton; although there are outliers at the major mints of London and Winchester, it is not found elsewhere outside the south-west.

An interesting reverse variety of the *Quatrefoil* type (Hildebrand's type Ei) has a trefoil instead of a single pellet on each cusp of the quatrefoil on the reverse. This is found at Exeter of the moneyers God (Brettell No. 156), Hunewine (BMC pl. XVII, 12) and Wulfsige (Brettell No. 172). The mints of this variety are widely scattered, mostly in southern England, although its occurrence at the three Devon mints of Barnstaple, Exeter and Lydford represents a closer concentration than elsewhere.

Eight of the *Quatrefoil* moneyers have fallen out before *Pointed Helmet,* two more of them are known for later issues but not in this one, and eight new names, Aelfstan, Aelfwine, Dodda, Ealdabeard, Leofwine, Lifinc, Scula and Wulfwerd, are found in this type:

AELFSTAN, mentioned above as occurring at Exeter and other nearby mints in the early and middle years of Ethelred, is a name which recurs at Exeter in *Pointed Helmet* (Copenhagen Sylloge 418), with the unusual mint signature EAXCA. The name also appears in the *Arm-and-Sceptre* type of Harthacnut (H. 29).

AELFWINE is known at Exeter in *Pointed Helmet* and *Short Cross* of Cnut and early enough in the Confessor's reign to be perhaps the same moneyer. The name is, however, extensively found elsewhere in the region at this period (*cf.* the mints of Goda), as shown in Table E below:

	Ethelred		Cnut			Harold Lis	Harthacnut Arm & Sc.
Type	E	A	E	G	H		
Shaftesbury	X	X	X				
Cadbury		X					
Bruton			X				
Ilchester			X	X	X		X
Exeter				X	X		
Totnes				X			
Lydford						X	

Table E Mints of the moneyer Aelfwine

DODDA, though not known in the period from Cnut's *Short Cross* to Harold I's *Fleur-de-Lis,* is recorded for *Pointed Helmet* (Copenhagen 430), *Arm-and-Sceptre*—in which type he is the only Exeter moneyer found with both the Cnut (H. 372) and Harthacnut spellings—and the first (*Pacx*) type of the Confessor.

EALDABEARD, a most unusual name, is found only at Exeter and only in *Pointed Helmet*.

LEOFWINE is known at Exeter in *Pointed Helmet,* Harold's *Fleur-de-Lis* type, *Arm-and-Sceptre* of (Hartha-)cnut (H. 402) and in Edward's *Pacx* and Radiate (H. 91-2) types. This common name had occurred under Ethelred (*Long Cross*) at Taunton; but the Exeter moneyer is more likely to be the same man as the Ilchester Leofwine in *Pointed Helmet,* and perhaps also as the Axbridge Leofwine in *Short Cross* and (Hartha-)cnut's *Arm-and-Sceptre*.

LIFINC, a prolific moneyer of the Confessor, is known for the last two types of Cnut, *Pointed Helmet* (British Museum) and *Short Cross* (H. 403), but is unrecorded for several intervening types. This common name is not otherwise found in the area.

SCULA is only at Exeter and his types are *Pointed Helmet* (H. 412-3) and *Short Cross* (H. 414).

WULFWERD, whose name is found on an Exeter coin of *Pointed Helmet* (H. 426), is also the moneyer of an extremely rare (and probably accidental) variety of the same type without a sceptre, with the mint name TOTE (for Totnes) cut into the die over EAXEC, which misled Hildebrand into reading TOTEL (H. 3566) and postulating a non-existent mint at Totleigh in Derbyshire.

In the *Pointed Helmet* type also a number of die-cutting styles have been identified. However, in contrast with those of the two preceding issues, they do not for the most part appear to have a primarily geographical significance. Dies of the styles to which Exeter coins of this type belong seem to have been distributed on a national basis and were used at a large number of mints.

In Cnut's last main type, *Short Cross,* nine moneyers are known to have operated, of whom only two are certainly new:

HUNEMAN is found only in this type. The name had occurred a good deal earlier at Totnes in the last type of Ethelred.

THEGNWINE is known for Cnut's *Short Cross* (H. 415-6; Glasgow 933) and the *Jewel Cross* type in the name of Harthacnut with both right and left facing busts (H. 39, 38). This rare name is confined to Exeter.

The name AEFICC, which is found in *Short Cross,* is not itself found earlier, though an Aelfric is. Aelfric's latest previous type at Exeter had been *Helmet* of Ethelred. Coins with this name of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* (BMC 56; BNJ XXX, pl. VI, 3-7) which have in the past been attributed to Exeter have now been convincingly assigned by Mr. Elmore Jones to Axbridge. The Axbridge moneyer might be the same man as the Exeter moneyer of Ethelred, or perhaps the Exeter moneyer Aeficc of Cnut, though there is a missing type in between in each case. The Confessor's Exeter

moneyer by the name of Aelfric (from his fourth type) is presumably a different man.

EDWINE is also known under Ethelred in *Helmet* (and earlier) at Exeter, and then again in Cnut's last type. The name is found on two later occasions at this mint.

After the death of Cnut, an important change took place in the English coinage. During the preceding sixty years only nine types had been issued, but in the next thirty years there were thirteen. The more frequent recoinages were maintained under the Normans, who produced twenty-eight type changes between 1066 and 1135. The start of the period has until recently been in some numismatic confusion as a result of parallel issues in the name of Harold and Harthacnut and the naming of the latter simply as Cnut on some of his coins. The flow of English coins to Scandinavia, first with the Danegeld and then the Heregeld, was coming to an end and material found in England is henceforth of greater importance. Paucity of material misled Hildebrand over the sequence of the Confessor's types. The earlier issues caused difficulty also to other writers, but the following arrangement proposed by Mr. Seaby is now generally accepted:

Pacx (Hild. D), *Radiate* (A), *Trefoil-Quadrilateral* (C), *Small Flan* (B) and *Expanding Cross* (E). The last five of Edward's ten substantive types are *Helmet* (F), *Sovereign* (H), *Hammer Cross* (G), *Facing Bust* (Ac) and *Pyramids* (I).

Harold I's coins are of two main types, the *Jewel Cross* issue which he shared with Harthacnut and the *Fleur-de-Lis* on his own. Harthacnut's *Jewel Cross* mints are concentrated on and south of the Thames, and Exeter is well represented. The later coins of the *Jewel Cross* issue show two dotted borders of the mantle overlapping, and those with Harthacnut's name have a right-facing bust. The *Arm-and-Sceptre* type of his own sole reign was struck throughout the country, and is generally rather less rare (though not at Exeter) with the name Cnut than with Harthacnut.

The *Jewel Cross* coinage may be taken as a whole, and is recorded of six Exeter moneyers. Two of them, Haerra and Wulfnoth, are new:

HAERRA is a rare name, found only at Exeter, and in the *Jewel Cross* issue, both of Harold and of Harthacnut (H. 36).

WULFNOTH is found for Harold (H. 137-8) and Harthacnut in the *Jewel Cross* type and seems to be the only moneyer other than Edmaer who also strikes Harold's *Fleur-de-Lis* type (H. 139-40) at Exeter. Though not noted in *Arm-and-Sceptre,* this moneyer also struck the Confessor's first type.

In addition, the name of CARLA, already listed for Ethelred and the first type of Cnut, reappears. Carla's *Jewel Cross* coins are of both Harold (H. 124-5) and (Hartha-)cnut (H. "Cnut" 368).

Harold's *Fleur-de-Lis* type is thinly represented at Exeter, being known only of four moneyers. There is a variety in which the lis in the angles of the reverse appear as trefoils (H. type Aa), but there is no apparent significance in this. Hildebrand gives Hunna as an Exeter moneyer (H. 133), but he is known for Malmesbury, and the reading should be ON MEAL, not ONN EAC (see BNJ XXV, 238); there is also a coin with the name Hunni of

Cnut's last type in Copenhagen (No. 462) which has been attributed to Exeter on the basis of a similar reading but which should likewise, I think, belong to Malmesbury. The one new Exeter moneyer in the *Fleur-de-Lis* type is:

MANLEOF, recorded in this and Harthacnut's *Arm-and-Sceptre* issues only.

Arm-and-Sceptre is recorded with the names of seven Exeter moneyers, none of them entirely new. Two of them, AELFSTAN and DODDA, are not recorded for the three main types since *Pointed Helmet,* but may be the same men. EDWINE's name should also be mentioned here. It appears intermittently at Exeter, some of the occasions under Ethelred, Cnut, Harthacnut and the Confessor perhaps representing different individuals. His *Arm-and-Sceptre* coin is in the name Cnut (H. 386). He is not known for the first four of Edward's types.

GODWINE, a name last found in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type, is recorded for the *Arm-and-Sceptre* type of Harthacnut (H. 35). A *Jewel Cross* coin (H. 34) with the inscription G....NOEX was attributed to Exeter by Hildebrand, but Mr. Dolley has suggested it should be assigned to Oxford (*cf.* H. 160). Godwine is also recorded at Exeter for the Confessor's first type by Mr. Seaby from a coin in the Sigsarve hoard.

Edward the Confessor's moneyers at Exeter often repeat names which had already appeared in earlier reigns, though rarely with such continuity as to make their identity obvious. Those most likely to be the same persons still in office are DODA, EDMAER, GODWINE, LEOFWINE and WULFNOTH, whose coins of the Confessor have been already noted. The new or probably new moneyers are:

AELFRIC, known at Exeter from *Small Flan* (Fitzwilliam 840) to *Hammer Cross,* with the exception of *Expanding Cross*. The name, which had appeared at an earlier period, also occurs under William I. There is an Aelfric at Barnstaple from *Radiate* to *Hammer Cross* with the exception of *Trefoil-Quadrilateral* and *Small Flan,* and at Lydford in *Pacx* (British Museum), *Radiate* (H. 590) and *Small Flan* (H. 407 and BMC 812).

AELFWINE, an Exeter name under Cnut, is known for the Confessor's second and third types. The name appears also on a coin of *Expanding Cross* type of (?) Ilchester (H. 173).

EDSIE is found in *Expanding Cross* only; coins with the name Edsige had been struck in earlier reigns.

EDWOLD is given as an Exeter moneyer of the *Pacx* type by Mr. Seaby, with reference to Montagu sale, part 2, lot 135. Brettell No. 207 could be by this moneyer.

EDWINE is a moneyer of *Expanding Cross* after an interval from *Arm-and-Sceptre.*

HUNEWINE reappears on the Confessor's fourth and fifth types, *Small Flan* (Bliss sale) and *Expanding Cross*. The name occurs as a witness to a document at Exeter in 1046.

LIFINC, a name found in Cnut's last type but not thereafter until Edward's third issue, is known for the run of types from *Trefoil-Quadrilateral* into the Conqueror's reign, with the exception of *Small Flan,* which is rare of

	Earlier Issues				Edward the Confessor										Harold II		William I
	Cnut	Jewel Cross	Hld. Lis	Hct. A/Sc.	Pacx D	Rad-iate A	Trefoil-Quad C	Small Flan B	Expdg. Cross E	Helmet F	Sovn. H	Ham. Cross G	Facing Bust Ac	Pyra-mids I	A	Aa	
Aelfric	X							X		B	B	B					X
Aelfwine	X					B	B										
Brihtric																B	X
Doda				X	B												
Edmaer	X	X	X	X	X	B											
Edsie	X	X							B								
Edwine	X			X					B								
Edwold					X												
Godwine				X	X												
Hunewine	X							X	B								
Leofwine	X		X	X	B	X							B?		B		X
Lifinc	X						B		B	B	B	B	B			B	X
Saewine	X								X	X	B		B	B			X
Saewulf									B								
Wicing												B					
Wulfnoth		X	X		B									B			
Wulfwine														B			
Wulmaer	X						B	X	B	B	B	B					

Table F – Exeter Moneyers of Edward the Confessor and Harold II

Exeter, and *Pyramids*. Lifinc's coins of Harold II are without the sceptre, the more common variety at this mint, though generally much the rarer.

SAEWINE, also a name found under Cnut and in the Norman period too, runs from *Expanding Cross* (BMC 213) to *Pyramids*, with the exception of *Hammer Cross*, his *Helmet* coin being BMC 219.

SAEWULF is only a moneyer of *Expanding Cross*.

WICING is a name found only in the eighth type, *Hammer Cross*.

WULFNOTH in *Pyramids* is probably not the same as the Wulfnoth who runs from Cnut to the first type of the reign.

WULFWINE is a moneyer of *Pyramids* only.

WULMAER struck six consecutive types from *Trefoil-Quadrilateral* to *Hammer Cross*. His *Small Flan* coin is BMC 207. This name had occurred briefly at Exeter in Cnut's first type (see above).

A coin, of which die-duplicates are in the British Museum (BMC 232) and the Brettell collection (No. 201), reading EADPARDONE, and supposedly the only case of a moneyer Edward at Exeter, has been convincingly re-attributed by Mr. Elmore Jones to Canterbury, where the name Edward is found at this period.

Harold II's Exeter moneyers are three:

LEOFWINE has already been noted for the period from Cnut to Edward's second type. This is also the name of a moneyer who struck in the Norman period (Lifwine) and under Harold (with sceptre), and to this later Leofwine should probably be attributed the coin of the Confessor's penultimate type (*Facing Bust*) with the name EOFWINE (Brettell No. 211).

BRIHTRIC, also an Exeter moneyer of the Conqueror's first type, struck coins for Harold without the sceptre. The same name appears on the extremely rare coins of Petherton in Somerset in the *Radiate* (Lockett 796) and *Trefoil-Quadrilateral* (H. 634) types, the only issues known of this mint (see *Num. Circular*, 1961, 167); and after an interval of three types on coins of Taunton of the Confessor's *Sovereign* and *Hammer Cross* types, of Harold II, and of William I beginning with a mule of types I/II. It seems not unlikely that the same moneyer was responsible for the Brihtric coins at all three mints, and perhaps even for a *Jewel Cross* coin of Harold I of the mint of Crewkerne, just south of Petherton (H. 85).

LIFINC, whose coins also span the Conquest, has been noted above.

The Norman moneyers of Exeter are represented by relatively few coins, except of the PAXS type of William I. It is likely that recorded examples do not fully represent the active careers of known moneyers, and quite possible that coins were struck in the names of other moneyers as yet unknown, particularly in the middle part of the reign of Henry I of which all coins are so rare. Also, after the reign of William II, the standard of striking deteriorated and many of the later pieces are so imperfectly struck as to render their readings doubtful and incomplete. There is therefore a considerable measure of uncertainty regarding the attribution of some entries in the table. The Brettell collection is notable for several hitherto unpublished pieces which either add new moneyers for their type or confirm

	Earlier		William I									William II					Henry I					Stephen	
	Ed.	Hd.	I	II	III	III/IV	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	I	II	III	IV	V	II	VII	XII	XIV	XV	I	VII
Aelfwine	X			B	B		B	B															
Ailric																						B	B
Algar																						B	
Brihtric		X	B																				
Brihtwi (etc.)																					B	X	
Brihtwine												X		X									
Dunning																		X	X	B?			
Goda			B																				
He . . . ng																				B			
Hlud																					X		
Lifwine	X	X	B								B		B		B	B	?						
Livinc	X	X	B																				
Saeward				B	B			B															
Saewine	X						B	B	B	B	B	B	X		X?		B?	X?					
Semaer									B	B	B												
Sweotinc					B	X	B																
Wulfwine	X				X		B	B	X														
– d (?)																				X			
Helhi (?)																					B		
– ier																						B	
– awi																					X		

Table G – Exeter Moneyers of the Norman Period

doubtful items in the table, such as No. 245, William I type II of Aelfwine; Nos. 293 and 294-5, of Lifwine under William II, types IV and V, both entries qualified by Brooke; No. 298, Henry I type XIV of Duning (?); No. 299, Henry I type XIV of He(- - -)ing; and No. 308, Stephen type I of a moneyer (- - -)ier.

Of the moneyers whose names had appeared on the coinage before the Conquest, the most obvious cases of continuity seem to be:

Brihtric, with a brief career under Harold II and in only the first type of William I, perhaps before returning to Taunton.

Lifwine, whose coin of William I type I (BMC 14) is probably by the same man as the Leofwine of Harold II; coins of Lifwine are also known in William I type VIII (the Beaworth hoard contained 43) and William II types II, IV and V. It is possible, though perhaps not likely, that the same person is represented throughout, but there must have been a number of Leof-/Lifwines as the name goes back to *Pointed Helmet* of Cnut and is found also under Harold I, Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor in his earlier types and perhaps later (*Facing Bust,* "Eofwine"), as well as under Harold II.

Livinc, Lifinc before 1066, occurs in type I of William I, and this marks the end of a more or less continuous run from early Edward the Confessor, in every type except the *Small Flan* (rare) and *Pyramids*. This name also had appeared earlier, under Cnut.

A fourth moneyer in the Conqueror's first type is Goda, known only from the Brettell specimen and another in Stockholm (Sylloge No. 2) of this type. It is notable that the only occurrence on Norman coinage of a name so well known in the Devon mints under Ethelred and Cnut should be at Exeter.

Mention should also be made here of a reverse die of type I which purports to belong to Exeter. It began its existence with the reading ELFSIONI.VNDE, which by a series of additional cuts has been made to appear as ELPNIONEXECSDE (BMC cxlix and pl. II, 6). The Brettell specimen, from a different obverse die from that published by Brooke (16.3 gr.), weighs 15.9 gr. and confirms that the alteration to the reverse inscription was designed to conceal the identity of a moneyer who was striking coins of light weight from regular dies .

Brooke suggested that the ravages of 1068, when Exeter was taken by William following the risings of 1067 while he was in France, could account for the rarity of his second type (*Bonnet*). It marks the first appearance of two new names at Exeter:

Aelfwine, not previously recorded in this reign before type III, but now known for four consecutive types of the Conqueror; presumably a different man from the Aelfwine who struck the second and third types of the Confessor. Brooke discovered that Aelfwine's type III coin in the British Museum is from a later state of the same obverse die as a coin by Sibode of London (BMC No. 184, pl. VII, 4). The reason for this unparalleled die-transfer from the capital to a distant mint is obscure.

SAEWARD, or SEWORD, is recorded for types II, III and V of the Conqueror. Perhaps this moneyer moved to Barnstaple, where the same name is found in types V, VI and VIII. A close relationship appears to have existed between Exeter and Barnstaple at this period, and no less than three obverse die-links between the two mints exist in type VIII (see below).

In this connection it seems worth remarking that two names first occur at Taunton in the type which closes their respective careers at Exeter, *viz.* Brihtric (mule I/II to type IV) and Aelfwine (type V to William II type III). This may be no more than a remarkable coincidence, but the principal mints respectively of Somerset and Devon are not far apart and a link between them would not be a matter for surprise.

Two more names first appear in the third (*Canopy*) type of William I:

SWEOTINC, or SWOTTINC, is known for types III and IV, with a mule between the two in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (BMC pl. VIII, 11), the obverse die of which has been altered to make it resemble the *Two Sceptres* type.

WULFWINE of types III to VI might be the same man as is recorded in the last type of the Confessor, though the name is very common. His earliest post-Conquest type is illustrated in the Ashmolean Sylloge, No. 47. In type VI, an obverse die used by Wulfwine is of highly unusual style, with the inscription PILLEM : AGLORV, perhaps the result of local engraving (BMC 406, pl. XIV, 11).

The traditional Exeter name SAEWINE occurs over a long period of the Norman coinage ranging from the fourth (*Two Sceptres*) type of the Conqueror to the seventh of Henry I, a period of forty years. The coins of William II and of Henry I are too rare and equivocal to give any indication where (if at all) a break between one moneyer of this name and another may have occurred. All types from William I type IV to William II type II are recorded, those of type VIII being the most numerous of the Exeter coins in Beaworth (57). The doubtful attribution of an example of William II type IV to this moneyer depends on a coin which Carlyon-Britton read as Edwine (BNJ V, pl. IX, 9), a name not otherwise found, but which Brooke thought might be Sewwine. The name on the single coin of the second type of Henry I is also defective, reading apparently (-)EWINE, but perhaps (-)FWINE. The allocation of both to Sewine rests largely on the earlier coins of this moneyer and the existence of a coin in the *BMC* Appendix, No. 39A, also reading (-)EWINE, of the seventh type of Henry I.

The departure of Aelfwine and Seword from the lists in type V (*Two Stars*) is followed in type VI (*Sword*) by the addition of SEMIER or SEMAER, known for three consecutive types of which VIII was represented by 49 examples in Beaworth. No other mint has a moneyer of this name in Norman times.

The only other new moneyer in the Conqueror's reign is LIFWINE, probably a different person from the Lifwine of type I. His coins are of type VIII (*Paxs*) and of types II, IV and V of William II.

One of Lifwine's coins of the *Paxs* type is from an obverse also used by Seword at Barnstaple, and there are two other links between these mints in the same type involving obverses used at Exeter by Semaer. One of

Semaer's dies seems to have been used first at Barnstaple and later at Exeter, and the other first at Exeter. Only three obverse dies of this type are recorded for Barnstaple, and all three of them were thus used also at Exeter.

Only one new moneyer appears in the reign of William II,

BRIHTWINE, of whom there is a specimen of type I in Stockholm (Sylloge No. 151) and another of type III in Plymouth Museum (see also Sainthill's *Olla Podrida,* ii, 158, and Bergne sale, 1873, lot 318).

The Exeter mint was one of the more important of those on which W. J. Andrew based his extraordinary theory that in the reign of Henry I provincial mints were mainly in private hands and could only coin money when the lord to whom they belonged was in England. Assuming that the city of Exeter belonged to the Earl of Devon (whereas it actually belonged to Queen Maud), Andrew wove an elaborate fabric of fantasy to explain why only five types of the reign were known for the mint. The argument has been decisively demolished by Crump and Johnson.

In addition to the coins of Saewine already mentioned, the only known Exeter issues of Henry I earlier than the last two types of the reign are in the names of a moneyer ending in *-ing,* two of type VII and one of type XII. One of the former, from the 1967 Lummelunda hoard (Stockholm Sylloge No. 267) has the name DUNING and it is on the basis of this coin that the other two may probably be attributed to the same moneyer. The other coin of type VII is in Moscow, part of a find thought to have come from one of the Baltic states, and shows only *-ng* (BNJ XXXVI 1967, p. 88, and pl. III, 6). It has previously been associated with another moneyer known in type XIV, He-ng (Brettell 299), but since Duning is now certainly recorded for this type he must have the stronger claim. The type XII coin, with the name DUNING clear but the mint defective, (--)CE. was attributed in the Drabble sale catalogue (lot 657) to Leicester, *i.e.* (LE)GE, but since there is no other evidence for a moneyer of that name at Leicester, it may more reasonably be assigned to Exeter. An Exeter coin of type XIV in the Brettell collection (No. 298) with traces of a name apparently beginning with D suggests that Duning's activity may have lasted until near the end of the reign. An earlier part of his career might perhaps have been at Totnes, where the name occurs under William II and in the first type of Henry I.

A moneyer found in type XV (BMC 216-7) is HLVD, apparently a foreigner, and a name not otherwise known on English coins. There is an Exeter penny in the British Museum (BMC 126) of the preceding type with a name perhaps ending in *-d,* but the space appears to be rather long for this moneyer.

There are also two pennies of type XV in the British Museum from the Watford find on which the moneyers' names are unclear. BMC 218, with a clear mint signature, has a moneyer –(L?)AWI. On BMC 219 the moneyer's name appears to be –ELHI, with a mint name beginning E(X?). Brettell No. 300, apparently from the same obverse die as BMC 219, confirms the attribution to Exeter and shows the moneyer's name as HE(L?)--. On Brettell No. 301 the moneyer's name could be read as HELHI, and it is

likely that the three coins are of the same moneyer. It is safer not to connect this unusual name with the HE - - - NG of type XIV, but the occurrence of these names both beginning HE - - - in adjacent types is to be noted.

Only one moneyer seems to span the change of reign. Brettell No. 297 of Henry I's last type has the moneyer's name apparently BRHICDWI (*cf.* BMC 213-5), perhaps BRIHTWI in the light of two coins of Stephen's first type in the British Museum (BMC 32, pl. XLIX, 16, and another), which in combination read *Br - - - (t?)wi*. Three other names are found in Stephen type I:

AILRIC, known also in the last type of the reign, is the only Exeter moneyer of type VII (Brettell No. 305), although there is also an Exeter coin of type VII in the British Museum on which the moneyer's name is illegible.

ALGAR, only recorded for Stephen type I; and an incompletely named moneyer, –IER (Brettell No. 308), perhaps (but somewhat improbably) Semier if an old Exeter name is any guide.

As in the Anglo-Saxon period, certain Norman coins have sometimes been erroneously attributed to Exeter on the basis of misread or deceptive mint signatures. A rare variety of the Conqueror's first type without the sceptre, reading MANNA ON EA, is one of these (Lockett 885), although Brooke correctly identified the mint as Canterbury, where this moneyer is known from type I to type V. Another moneyer whose coins have often been assigned to Exeter is Simun in Stephen's reign. These coins are of type I (British Museum from the South Kyme hoard), the very rare type V (Mack 76), and a Civil War variant of type I with a long cross fleury superimposed over the cross moline on the reverse (Mack 178). There seems little reason either to attribute a coin, of similar type to this last, from the Sheldon hoard (Mack 186) to Exeter. Many of these should probably be attributed to Simun of Leicester, but Brettell No. 309 has what appears to be a Canterbury reading.

Before passing to the post-Norman coinages of Exeter, it may be useful to draw together the threads of a theme which runs through much of the comment above on the Anglo-Saxon and Norman moneyers of this mint. In table H are recorded the names of Exeter moneyers which also appear on coins from other mints in Devonshire or adjacent counties. The reasons for thinking that in many of these cases the moneyer involved at more than one mint was the same person may be summarized.

1. The concentration of particular names at several mints in this area cannot be explained by localization of the names themselves. For example, although the relatively common moneyer's name God(a) is found at more mints of the West Country grouping (seven) than in the rest of the country (five), its occurence elsewhere is widely scattered.
2. When the same name is known at several mints in the area, the type or types known of each often run in a sequence which implies the transfer of activity, sometimes repeated, from one mint to another. The most striking example is Hunewine, but there are many other names (such as those of the Exeter–Totnes–Lydford group under Ethelred) for which a comparable pattern can be observed.

Exeter Moneyer	Cornwall		Devonshire			Somerset									Dorset		Period
	Launceston	Gothaburh (?)	Barnstaple	Lydford	Totnes	Axbridge	Bruton	Cadbury	Crewkerne	Ilchester	Milborne	Petherton	Taunton	Watchet	Shaftesbury	Wareham	
Aelfnoth						X											Eth.-Cn.
Aelfric (1)						X											Eth.-Cn.
Aelfric (2)			X	X													Edw.
Aelfstan				X	X												Eth.
Aelfwine (1)				X	X		X	X		X					X		Eth.-H.I
Aelfwine (2)										X							Edw.
Aelfwine (3)													X				W.I-II
Aethestan				X													Eth.
Brihtric									X			X	X				H.I-W.I
Brun	X																Eth.
Byrferth					X												Eth.
Byrhsige			X													X	Eth.-Cn.
Byrhtric																X	Eth.
Carla		X															Eth.-Cn.
Duning					X												W.II-Hy.
Edric													X				Eth.-Cn.
Goda		X		X	X			X		X					X		Eth.-Cn.
Godwine (1)				X	X												Eth.
Godwine (2)										X	X						Cn.
Hunewine				X	X	X				X				X			Eth.-Cn.
Leofric										X							Eth.
Leofwine						X				X							Cn.-Hct.
Manna					X												Eth.
Saewine				X											X		Eth.-Cn.
Seword			X														W.I
Wulfmaer		X															Eth.-Cn.
Wulfwerd					X												Cn.

Table H – Exeter Moneyers' Names found at other West Country Mints

3. Even when the same moneyer's name (*e.g.* Aelfwine or Goda) is found at more than one mint in each of a series of types, an element of replacement of one mint by another is noticeable.
4. Quite often a pair or group of mints is linked by more than one common moneyer's name at about the same period (*e.g.* Aelfstan, Byrferth, Godwine and Manna; Aelfwine and Goda; or Brihtric and Aelfwine).
5. Die-links have been observed between Exeter and three neighbouring mints—Barnstaple, *Gothaburh* and Ilchester. In the *Paxs* type of the Conqueror each of the three obverse dies used by Seword at Barnstaple was also used at Exeter, and the name Seword occurs on coins of Exeter earlier in the reign.
6. In two cases these die-links connect coins of different mints with the same moneyer's name (Carla and Hunewine), and Hunewin, the Lydford moneyer in the Ilchester die-link, had also struck at Ilchester, although not in the *Pointed Helmet* type.
7. One of the reverse dies of Wulfmaer, a name found in the *Pointed Helmet* of Cnut at both Exeter and Totnes, has the mint name altered from one to the other.

The cumulative inference from these phenomena can only be that it was normal at this period for the responsibility of those who acted as moneyers to be transferable from one mint to another. Evidence of the same thing can be found in other parts of the country, but it is most obviously to be seen in the case of the mints in the extreme south-west, of which the principal one was Exeter.

In 1158 English coinage underwent a long overdue reform. The system of frequent recoinages was abandoned and the number of mints was halved. Very few of Stephen's moneyers were enlisted for the new coinage of Henry II, which is known as the *Cross-and-Crosslets* type from its reverse design or the *Tealby* type from the largest hoard of the period which has come to light. The divisions of this coinage are not marked by clear typological changes, but by variations in the treatment of the bust and inscription.

	A	B	C	D	E-F	Short-cross
Edwid	X		X		Not Known	
Guncelin	B		?			
Ricard	X					X
Rogier	B			X		X
Rainir		X	X			

Table J – Exeter Moneyers 1158-1180

Of the three south-western mints, Exeter was probably larger than Ilchester, and certainly than Launceston, where only one pair of dies is known in Class A and coinage was very short-lived. It is possible that Barnstaple should also be regarded as a mint of this coinage, but if so only one coin is known which could be attributed to it (BMC 1a). Exeter had five moneyers in all, of whom four, namely Edwid, Guncelin, Ricard and Rogier, are known to have struck the earliest class (A) of the new coinage, which is dated 1158-61. Classes B and C, which appear to have run concurrently between 1161 and 1165, include the latest coins of Edwid and (?) Guncelin and those of a new moneyer, Rainir. Ricard and Rogier are both names on the new coinage of 1180, but the only Tealby class later than A known to have been struck by either is class D (1165-8) of Rogier. Details of the known varieties of each moneyer are given in the British Museum Catalogue.

A Ricard FitzEstrange, moneyer of Exeter, is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls in 1157-8 under Devonshire as owing 100 marks in circumstances which elsewhere normally refer to outgoing moneyers, but the name is not known under Stephen. Ailric, who is, had to pay off his debt over five years from 1158 to 1163. Very few moneyers of the Tealby coinage, and none of those at Exeter, had been in office under Stephen.

Exeter coins of the *Cross-and-Crosslets* type, like those of other West Country mints, are rare, partly because of the lack of hoards from the West of England. No Exeter coins are known of the later classes, E and F (1168-80); only one moneyer of Ilchester is known in either of these classes.

One irregular pair of dies used at Exeter may be of unofficial manufacture. It has affinities with classes B and C in the bust, but has an inner circle on the obverse, and the unusual reading REX S (*Secundus*, or *Senior*?). The moneyer's name is illegible, and the mint name begins XSE... This reverse die is also paired with a regular class B obverse used by Rainir. A REX S obverse with a somewhat similar bust is also known of the Ilchester moneyer Ricard.

In Henry II's second reform of the coinage in 1180, when a short voided cross was introduced on the reverse, Exeter had both a mint and an exchange. Its moneyers are named in Table K. The first class is divided into three: *a*, rare early coins with square E or C, as in the Tealby period; *b*, the main type of the recoinage in which eleven mints participated; and *c*, a rougher version of *b*, before the introduction of which many of the recoinage moneyers had ceased to strike. Of the six class I Exeter moneyers, three struck coins with one or both dies of Ia, showing that the Exeter mint was active at a very early stage in the recoinage. Examples of all varieties in Table K are in the British Museum, with the exception of class Ia of Osber, which is recorded by Lawrence. One reverse die of Ricard shows square letters in the mint name (Brettell No. 327), and although the coins struck from it might be described as Ib/Ia, it seems that EXEC may have been cut over LVND on a normal Ib reverse die to correct an error (there was no moneyer Ricard at London in this class).

Only Ricard is known for class Ic (Brettell No. 331), and the same moneyer provides the only evidence that coins (class III) were struck at

	Tealby	Short Cross										Vc-VIII	Long Cross		
		Ia	Ia/b	Ib/a	Ib	Ic	II	III	IV	Va	Vb		I	II	III
Asketil		X			B		Not Known		Not Known			Not Struck	Not Struck		
Gileberd										B	B				
Iohan										X	B				
Ion														B	B
Iordan		B			B										
Osber		?	X		B										
Philip														B	B
Raul					B										
Ricard	X			B (?)	B	B		X		B	B				
Robert														B	B
Roger	X				B										
Walter														X	B

Table K – Exeter Moneyers, 1180 to 1250

Exeter in Richard I's reign, 1189-99. The mint was, however, reactivated for John's recoinage of 1205, when Ricard was joined by two new moneyers, Gileberd and Iohan. These three are all known for both Va and Vb, but not for Vc, when several of the sixteen mints of the recoinage were already closed. Like Ia in 1180, Va in 1205 (with reversed S and a cross pommetty as the mint-mark) was a short-lived early variety.

Exeter also figures in Henry III's recoinage of 1247-50 when the short voided cross was replaced by a long cross on the reverse. The earliest coins of the new type were issued only by the mints previously active at London, Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds, but a new type was soon introduced (1248) reading HENRICUS REX TERCI(US) and these coins (class II) were issued by an additional eight mints, including Exeter. A further eight mints were added during class III (1248-50), the coins of which read REX III. The Exchequer Records include a list of all the mint officials involved for the long cross recoinage and each provincial mint was allotted four moneyers. The names at Exeter are—Robertus Picon, Phillipus Tinctor, Johannes de Egestone and Walterus Okestone. Coins of all these moneyers are known of both classes II and III and all are represented in the Brettell collection except class II of Walter. There are three varieties of class III: *a*, with a long face like that of class II; *b*, with a round face; and *c*, with a pronounced neck. From 1250 onwards all the provincial recoinage mints, including Exeter, were closed.

Exeter was not amongst the nine mints of Edward I's recoinage of 1280, when moneyers' names disappeared from the reverse. The nearest mint to the south-west on this occasion was Bristol. But in 1300, when the import of foreign counterfeits had necessitated a further recoinage of much of the currency then in circulation, Exeter was again included. Its coins, which are all of Fox class IXb, read CIVITAS EXONIE. The records of this well documented coinage show that the Exeter mint accounts run from June 12th to December 31st and that £3,757 was struck there, a total of nearly a million pennies.

The issue of 1300 was the last occasion on which a mint at Exeter was active in the middle ages. Subsequent recoinages did not involve an extensive network of mints, although Bristol was re-opened by Edward IV and Henry VIII.

The next occurrence of a mint at Exeter was in the Civil War. From 1642, the king's main mints were at York and Oxford, but there were large tracts of Royalist country cut off from these centres. An important one was in the far West, and in November 1642 Charles commissioned Sir Richard Vyvyan to set up a mint to finance the Royalist cause in Cornwall and Devon, and 'to coyne or cause to be coyned at such places as you shall thinke fitting all such Bullion or plate of gold or silver, as shalbe delivered unto you by any of our subjects for our use''. Bodmin and Liskeard were suggested, but the accounts of the Royal Customs at Fowey contain an item for delivery "a truncke of the Lord Roberts his plate to Trewrow to the Mynt from Liskeard''.

Early in September 1643 Exeter was taken by the Royalists and Vyvyan lost no time in setting up his mint there. It was officially authorized by

Charles in a commission of January 3rd, 1644, but Vyvyan's account books date back to September 27th. The Exeter mint was active on a considerable scale until the city fell to Fairfax in April 1646.

There is some difficulty in apportioning Vyvyan's coins between the mints of Truro and Exeter. The series is distinctive in using the royal arms as the reverse type instead of the Declaration of Wellington which characterized the Royalist coinage from 1642. Most of Vyvyan's coins bear the rose mint-mark, the badge of West Country silver, but some have a tower or EX. The denominations include a gold pound, and the crown, halfcrown, shilling, sixpence, groat, threepence, halfgroat and penny in silver. There is also a double-weight striking from crown dies, presumably intended as a ten-shilling piece.

Most of the dated coins are of 1644 and 1645, and belong to Exeter, but there are some halfcrowns dated 1642 which must have been struck at Truro. Most of the coinage of Truro was undated, but since many Exeter coins are also without date, division between the two cannot be established. One distinctive obverse die for the halfcrown is combined with reverses bearing the dates 1642, 1644 and 1645, which suggests that in other cases, too, dies may have been moved from Truro to Exeter and continued in use.

Other mints were in operation in the West Country after the loss of Bristol in 1645, when Bushell is thought to have set up a mint on Lundy Island, or in North Devon. Some of these coins are listed in this catalogue, together with others of fine workmanship which have been supposed to have been struck at Combe Martin, which had lead mines nearby. The identity of the Royalist mints in this area in the later years of the war is, however, largely a matter for speculation.

Copper tokens were issued by Exeter tradesmen in the 1650's and 1660's, as elsewhere throughout England, to remedy the deficiency of small change. But the local copper token currency at the end of the eighteenth century was issued from the centres of the Industrial Revolution. The last occasion, therefore, on which Exeter figures in English monetary history was when the mint was revived in 1695, along with Bristol, Chester, Norwich and York, to assist in the great recoinage of hammered silver. It was the last occasion on which English country mints were opened for that purpose. The dies were sent from London and belong to the normal types of the period, with the addition of the mint initial below the bust. Though the Tower mint continued the recoining into 1699, it was possible to close down the outlying mints during the summer of 1698. None of their coins, however, bears a date other than 1696 or 1697. The denominations struck out of London were the halfcrown, shilling and sixpence. Exeter halfcrowns of both dates are rare. On the shillings, the first bust is found in 1696 and 1697, and the third in 1697. The same varieties occur for the sixpence, but there is also a mule, of which the Brettell specimen may be unique, with a third bust obverse but dated 1696. The Exeter mint coined 147,296 lbs. of silver, or the best part of half a million pounds sterling, and perhaps somewhat surprisingly exceeded the output of any of the other four; Exeter and Bristol together struck more than half of the total issue of the country mints, an indication maybe of where most of the hammered currency in the country was concentrated.

In preparing this introduction I have drawn extensively on published material relevant to the subject and would also like to express my indebtedness to Mr. Blunt, Mr. Dolley, Mr. Elmore Jones, Mr. Lyon, Mr. Mitchell, Dr. Rasmusson, Mr. Seaby and Miss van der Meer for their response to my requests for information. The works consulted are listed below.

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CATALOGUE of
the R. P. V. BRETTELL COLLECTION of

COINS OF EXETER
and CIVIL WAR ISSUES of DEVON

Day of Sale

Wednesday, 28th October, 1970

commencing at 10.30 a.m. precisely

Alfred the Great (871-899)

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
1	BMC XXI—Four-line inscription	EXA (vertically)	23.0	180°	BMC 79

Chipped at edge but very fine and only three specimens known; ex Cuerdale Hoard, Kenyon, Norris, Whitbourn, "Lady in North", Brice, Montagu, Sir John Evans and Lockett (500)

Edgar (959-975)

AELFSTAN

2	Circumscription	E(X)	24.5	180°	—

Reads EAD(trefoil)AELFSTAN as though the engraver had started to cut an *obv.* die

Very fine and extremely rare; ex Murdoch (125)

Aethelred II (978-1016)

The types of this reign, with their classification according to Hildebrand, and the examples represented in the Brettell collection, are as follows:—

Type	*Hildebrand*	*Brettell Nos.*
First Small Cross	A	Not represented
Hand—First Hand	B_1	13, 14, 20, 21, 24, 71-73, 87, 88, 105, 106
Second Hand	B_2	4, 25-27, 84, 86, 89-93
(Benediction Hand)	(B_3)	True type not known for the mint
Mule Benediction/Crux	Cd	68
Crux	C	5, 6, 15-18, 22, 28, 29, 58-60, 69-70, 74, 75, 85, 94-97, 107-110
Small Crux	Ca	44
(Intermediate Small Cross)	(A)	True type not known for the mint
Mule Int. Small Cross/Crux	Cb	61, 62, 125
Long Cross	D	7, 8, 23, 36, 37, 47-53, 63-65, 67, 98-102, 111-115, 122, 126-132
Helmet	E	3, 9, 11, 12, 38-40, 45-46, 66, 116-119, 123, 124
Last Small Cross	A	10, 19, 30-35, 41-43, 54-57, 76-83, 103, 104, 120, 121

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	AELFMAER				
3	Helmet *Bent, fine, only type for the moneyer*	EAXE	17.3	360°	H.442
	AELFNOTH				
4	Second Hand *Good very fine; ex Radford* (15)	EAXEC	18.7	90°	H.448
5	Crux *Very fine; ex Argyll*	EAXE	24.2	270°	H.449
6	—— Different dies to 5 *Cracked, very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	24.7	90°	H.449
7	Long Cross *Good very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	25.6	360°	H.450
8	—— Same *rev.* die as 7 *Almost extremely fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	27.1	90°	H.451
9	Helmet *Almost very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	21.1	90°	H.452
10	Last Small Cross *Very fine; ex Argyll*	EAXECSER	26.1	180°	H.446
	AELFRIC				
11	Helmet *Almost very fine*	EAXE	16.1	360°	H.459
12	—— *Almost very fine*	EAXE	21.7	180°	H.460
	AELFSTAN				
13	First Hand *Good fine; ex Simpson*	EXE	25.3	360°	H.465
14	—— *Very fine*	EAXEC	19.6	270°	H.462
15	Crux Reads AELFSTA *Good very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	23.8	270°	*cf.* H.467

Lot					
16	——	EAXE	24.8	90°	H.467
	Almost very fine				
17	——	EAXE	23.6	270°	C.148
	Pellet in front of sceptre *Cracked, very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton*				
18	——	EAXE	23.6	270°	H.467
	Cracked across bust, otherwise very fine				
	AETHESTAN				
19	Last Small Cross	EAXEC	26.4	360°	H.463
	Very fine, only type for the moneyer				
	BRUN				
20	First Hand	EAXECEST	20.0	90°	C.151
	Good very fine, only type for the moneyer, who struck the unique Launceston of the same type; ex Argyll				
21	——	EAXECESTE	22.1	270°	H.469
	Fine				
	BYRHFERTH				
22	Crux	EAXE	18.2	90°	*cf.* H.473
	Very fine, a rare moneyer				
23	Long Cross	EAXE	21.9	360°	H.472
	Extremely fine; ex Simpson				
	BYRHSIGE				
24	First Hand	EAXEC	20.4	270°	G.789
	Good fine; ex Simpson				
25	Second Hand	EAXE	17.9	90°	H.474
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
26	——	EAXE	19.4	270°	*cf.* H.474
	Pellet behind shoulder *Very fine; ex Grantley* (1119) *and Simpson*				
27	——	EAXE	17.6	360°	H.474?
	Turned over in the die and perhaps Byrhstan; fine				
28	Crux	EAXE	25.0	270°	H.476
	Extremely fine; ex Simpson				

Lot					
	Byrhstan				
29	Crux *Fine; ex Raynes* (401)	EAXE	19.0	270°	H.490
30	Last Small Cross Pellet in front of chin *Fine*	EAX	17.9	180°	C.156
31	—— Pellet by forehead, same *rev.* die as 30 *Very fine*	EAX	18.3	360°	H.477
32	—— *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EAX	20.7	270°	H.480
33	—— Same *obv.* die as 32 *Very fine*	EAXC	21.1	270°	H.481
34	—— Pellet by forehead, same *obv.* die as 31 *Has been cleaned, very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXI	19.5	90°	H.486
35	—— *Reverse double-struck, fine; ex Hooper*	EAXI	14.4	90°	H.487
	Byrhtric				
36	Long Cross *Bust weak, very fine, only type for the moneyer; ex Simpson*	EAXE	20.7	90°	H.492
	Carla				
37	Long Cross *Good very fine*	EAXE	23.4	360°	H.499
38	Helmet *Almost very fine*	EAXE	16.5	180°	H.500
39	—— *Almost fine; ex Hooper*	EAXE	16.0	270°	H.501
40	—— Same *obv.* die as 39 *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	18.6	180°	H.501
41	Last Small Cross *Traces of cracks, almost very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXCESTRI	17.3	270°	H.495

LOT

42 —— EAXCESTRE MO 20.3 270° H.496
Obv. legend begins at 6 o'clock, *rev.* interesting reading with Monetarius abbreviated after mint name
Very fine; ex Argyll

43 —— EAXEC 24.5 270° H.498
Reads CARLAN
Almost very fine

CYTEL

44 Small Crux EAXE 17.7 90° *cf.* H.504
Obv. legend regular as C.165
Almost very fine, moneyer only known of this rare variety of Crux type; ex Simpson

DUDEL

45 Helmet EAXE 19.0 270° *cf.* H.505
Slightly cracked and obverse tooled, very fine, only type for the moneyer

46 —— EAXE 19.9 270° H.506
Badly cleaned, otherwise very fine; ex Simpson

DUNSTAN

47 Long Cross EAXE 21.9 180° H.507
Good very fine, only type for the moneyer

48 —— EAXE 21.4 90° H.507
Different dies to 47
Very fine; ex Gantz (1075)

49 —— EAXE 20.5 180° C.166
Pellet in 2nd quarter
Has been bent, almost very fine; ex Argyll

50 —— EAXE 23.0 270° H.507
Different dies to 47, 48
Almost very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton

51 —— EAXE 25.8 270° H.508
Bent, almost very fine

52 —— EAXE 24.2 360° H.508
Different dies to 51
Fine

Lot					
53	——	EAXE	25.3	270°	H.509
	Almost extremely fine; ex Simpson				
	EATSTAN				
54	Last Small Cross	EAXCS	25.7	90°	H.512
	Good fine, only type for the moneyer; ex Simpson				
55	——	EAXEC	26.7	360°	H.515
	Same *obv.* die as 54 *Very fine; ex Simpson*				
56	——	EAXEC	21.6	360°	H.515
	Same *obv.* die as 54, 55 *Edge slightly ragged, almost very fine; ex Simpson*				
57	——	EAXCSERE	25.6	270°	H.513
	Same *obv.* die as 54, 55, 56 *Almost very fine; ex Hooper*				
	EDRIC				
58	Crux	EAXE	24.1	270°	H.517
	Some cracks, almost very fine				
59	——	EAXEC	24.7	270°	H.518
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
60	——	EAXEC	24.3	270°	H.518
	Good fine				
61	Intermediate Small Cross/ Crux mule	EAXEC	19.0	180°	—
	Very fine and very rare (H. type Cb); four recorded in Hildebrand for the mint but not of Edric (see BNJ XXXVII, p. 24, fig. 6)				
62	——	EAXEVI	17.6	180°	—
	Rev. die of local work, Crux retrograde (BNJ XXXVII, p. 24, *fig.* 7) *Cracked, obv. fair, rev. fine, very rare and interesting; ex Hooper*				
63	Long Cross	EAXE	27.0	180°	H.521
	Good very fine; ex Gantz (1075)				
64	——	EAXE	27.9	180°	H.521
	Same dies as 63 *Almost extremely fine*				

Lot					
65	——	EAXE	26.6	270°	H.522
	Small edge chip but very fine; ex Simpson				
	EADWINE				
66	Helmet	EAXE	26.7	180°	H.526
	Two pellets behind helmet and pellet in 4th quarter *Fine; ex Simpson*				
	GODA				
67	Long Cross	EAXEC	26.8	360°	*cf.* H.532
	Reads GOD *Good very fine; ex Gantz* (1075)				
68	Benediction Hand/Crux mule	EAXEC	26.5	270°	—
	Obv. a little scratched (bad cleaning) at top and double-struck at bottom, good very fine and the only known specimen of this excessively rare mule which is known at Barnstaple (H. 27); ex Sotheby, 5th December, 1966				
69	Crux	EAXEC	26.1	90°	H.536
	Traces of cracks, very fine; ex Naish				
70	——	EAXEC	24.8	360°	*cf.* H.536
	Letters of Crux blundered *Fine*				
	GODWINE				
71	First Hand	EAXEC	25.0	270°	*cf.* H.542
	Reads GOWINE, of curious style *Very fine; ex Simpson*				
72	——	EAXECE	23.2	90°	H.542
	Weak at centre but very fine; ex Hooper				
73	——	EAXECES	19.7	270°	H.543
	Very fine (dirty)				
	HUNEWINE				
74	Crux	EAXE	22.1	270°	H.544/5
	Extremely fine, moneyer only known for Crux and H. type Cb of Exeter in this reign				
75	——	EAXE	22.1	90°	H.544/5
	Very fine				

Lot					
	Is(e)(n)god				
76	Last Small Cross *Very fine but pierced; ex Simpson*	EAXCEA	16.9	180°	H.547
77	—— *Almost very fine*	EAXCES	20.1	180°	H.554
78	—— Same *obv.* die as 76 *Very fine*	EAXCEST	15.7	180°	H.549
79	—— Same *obv.* die as 78, 76 *Weak very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXCESTI	16.5	360°	*cf.* H.550
80	—— Same *rev.* die as 77 *Almost very fine (dirty)*	EAXCES	18.6	180°	H.555
81	—— *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXCESTRE	20.7	270°	H.556
82	—— Same *obv.* die as 81 *Cracked and bent, otherwise very fine*	EAXCESTRI	20.4	360°	H.557
83	—— *Almost very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXCESTR	20.5	180°	H.558
	Leofric				
84	Second Hand *Very fine, moneyer only otherwise known of Crux type (see lot 85); ex Simpson*	EAXEC	17.0	270°	H.559
85	Crux *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EAXE	25.8	270°	H.560
	Leofsunu				
86	Second Hand *Slight edge crack, almost extremely fine and the only type of the moneyer; ex Lockett* (563)	EAXE	18.5	90°	H.562
	Luda				
87	First Hand *Good very fine; ex Simpson*	EXACEST	22.3	90°	H.564

Lot						
88	——	EXACEASTR	22.2	90°	H.565
	Same *obv.* die as 87 *Good very fine*					
89	Second Hand	EAXECES	19.7	90°	*cf.* H.570
	Edge crack, very fine; ex Simpson					
90	——	EAXEC	20.1	90°	H.568
	Pellet behind shoulder *Almost extremely fine; ex Wells*					
91	——	EAXECE	20.4	90°	H.569
	Same *obv.* die as 89 *Very fine; ex Argyll*					
92	——	EAXEC	18.1	270°	H.573
	Reads LUDDA *Pierced, very fine; ex Simpson*					
93	——	EAXEC	18.7	270°	H.573
	Reads LUDDA, dies differ *Turned over in the die, otherwise almost very fine; ex Simpson*					
94	Crux	EAXE	19.1	90°	H.571
	Fine but badly cracked					
95	——	EAXEC	24.7	270°	H.572
	Good very fine; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton (503)					
96	——	EAXEC	26.7	270°	H.572
	Very fine; ex Argyll					
97	——	EAXEC	21.9	180°	H.572
	Cracked but fine					
	MANGOD					
98	Long Cross	EAXE	20.1	90°	H.575
	Almost very fine and the only type of the moneyer; ex Raynes (397)					
	MANNA					
99	Long Cross	EAXE	19.3	90°	H.577
	Very fine; ex Simpson					
100	——	EAXE	21.7	360°	H.578
	Good very fine; ex Ready (119)					

Lot					
101	——	EAXE	20.4	180°	H.579
	Almost very fine; ex Simpson				
102	——	[E]AXE	9.5	270°	H.577
	Cut halfpenny; same dies as 99 *Very fine but cracked*				
	SAEWINE				
103	Last Small Cross	EAXCESTR	18.6	270°	H.581
	Outer and inner circle crack, otherwise very fine; ex Hooper				
	THURGOD				
104	Last Small Cross	EAXCEAS	12.3	180°	C.206
	Edge chipped but good fine; ex Hooper				
	TUNA				
105	First Hand	EAXECEST	20.7	90°	H.586
	Good very fine; ex Montagu and Grantley (1116)				
106	——	EAXECEST	20.1	90°	H.586
	Different dies to 105 *Very fine but bent and cracked; ex R. Carlyon-Britton*				
107	Crux	EAXE	23.1	270°	H.588
	Pellet in front of sceptre *Very fine but cracked*				
108	——	EAXE	21.9	270°	H.588
	Pellet in front of sceptre, same dies as 107 *Almost extremely fine*				
109	——	EAXEC	22.8	270°	H.589
	Pellet in front of sceptre, same *obv.* die as 107, 108 *Very fine.*				
110	——	EAXE	22.7	360°	H.587
	Obv. resembles Small Crux (H. type Ca), and possibly of this variety if an official issue, reverse of unusual style *Fine; ex Hooper*				
	WULFSIGE				
111	Long Cross	EAXE	20.2	180°	H.593
	Almost very fine; ex Hooper				
112	——	EAXE	23.9	90°	H.594
	Very fine but face weak				

Lot					
113	——	EAXE	21.9	270°	H.594
	Pellet on outer circle in 2nd quarter of *rev.*, same *obv.* die as 112 *Very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton*				
114	——	EAXE	25.4	90°	H.595
	Good very fine				
115	——	EAXE	26.7	90°	H.595
	Same dies as 114 *Almost extremely fine*				
116	Helmet	EAXE	16.6	270°	*cf.* H.596
	Rather cracked, good fine; ex Simpson				
117	——	EAXE	17.6	90°	H.596
	Good fine; ex Simpson				
118	——	EAXE	22.1	360°	H.597
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
119	——	EAXE	21.6	360°	*cf.* H.597
	Fine				
120	Last Small Cross	EAXECS	25.3	90°	H.590
	Pellet behind neck *Almost very fine; ex Simpson*				
121	——	EAXECS	26.4	90°	*cf.* H.590
	Same *rev.* die as 120 *Very fine; ex Argyll*				
	WULFSTAN				
122	Long Cross	EAXE	19.7	90°	H.599
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
123	Helmet	EAXE	18.8	270°	H.600
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
124	——	EAXE	21.6	360°	H.600
	Almost very fine (dirty)				
	WYNSIGE				
125	Intermediate Small Cross/ Crux mule	EAXE	17.9	270°	—
	Very fine but bent, a rare moneyer of this very rare type (cf. coin in BNJ XXXVII, p. 16, fig. 5); ex Drabble (462) and Wells				

Lot					
126	Long Cross *Very fine, bent*	EAXE	21.7	180°	H.602
127	—— Same dies as 126 *Almost very fine*	EAXE	21.7	90°	H.602
128	—— *Very fine, bent*	EAXE	22.1	360°	H.603
129	—— Same *obv.* die as 128 *A little weak, very fine*	EAXE	16.9	90°	H.603
130	—— *Extremely fine; ex Gantz* (1075)	EAXE	24.8	360°	H.603
131	—— Same *obv.* die as 130 *Bent, good fine*	EAXE	24.4	180°	H.603
132	—— *Very fine*	EAXE	25.7	180°	H.604

ELFSTAN

133	Copy of Crux *Weak, very fine*	EAXE	15.9	100°	C.1455

WUINGSR

134	Type of First Hand Perhaps an unofficial issue *Slight chip, almost very fine; ex Grantley* (1116)	Uncertain mint	14.9	315°	—

WYNSIGE

135	Copy of Long Cross *Bent and weak on reverse, almost very fine*	EAXE (retrograde)	24.7	135°	C.1457

Canute (1016-1035)

Type	*Hildebrand*	*Brettell Nos.*
Quatrefoil	E	142, 145, 154, 155, 163-166, 170, 171
—— variety with trefoils on reverse	Ei	156, 172
Helmet	G	137, 138, 143, 144, 146-149, 157-159, 161, 162, 167-169, 173-175
Short Cross	H	136, 139-141, 150-153, 160, 176

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	AEFICC				
136	Short Cross	ECXECE	16.8	90°	H.362
	Very fine, the only type of the moneyer if not Aelfric; ex Simpson				
	AELFWINE				
137	Helmet	ECXE	15.1	360°	H.363
	Very fine; ex Radford (18)				
138	——	ECXE	16.1	180°	H.363
	Same *rev.* die as 137 *Very fine; ex Simpson*				
139	Short Cross	ECX	17.1	90°	H.364
	Good very fine				
140	——	ECX	16.6	180°	H.364
	Very fine but bent; ex Simpson				
141	——	ECXE	17.9	360°	H.366
	Almost extremely fine but bent; ex Radford (18)				
	CARLA				
142	Quatrefoil	EAXC	11.9	180°	*cf.* H.367
	Cracked but good fine; ex Simpson				
	EALDABERD				
143	Helmet	ECX	16.9	270°	H.375
	Almost extremely fine, the only type of the moneyer, whose name is otherwise unknown; ex Drabble (495)				
	EDMAER				
144	Helmet	EXCEST	17.4	270°	H.376
	Bent, very fine; ex Hooper				

Lot					
	EDSIGE				
145	Quatrefoil	EXC	13.8	90°	*cf.* BMC 64
	Cracked, almost very fine, moneyer not in Hildebrand for type; ex Simpson				
146	Helmet	ECXECE	13.0	180°	*cf.* H.378
	Reads EDSIE *Good very fine; ex Radford* (18)				
147	——	ECXCEST	10.9	90°	H.378
	Reads EDSIE *Very cracked, corroded, otherwise fine; ex Simpson*				
148	——	EXCEST	16.9	360°	H.381
	Cracked, fine; ex Simpson				
149	——	ECXCES	15.1	360°	H.387
	Reads ETSIGE *Obverse weak, very fine; ex Simpson*				
	EDSIGE WARE				
150	Short Cross	EC	16.8	270°	H.383
	Almost very fine and a rare double name, though the type sequence suggests the same man as Edsige (*see* 145-149 *and* 180); *ex Drabble* (497) *and Lockett* (742)				
	EDWINE				
151	Short Cross	ECXE	17.6	180°	H.384
	Slightly bent, very fine; ex Hooper				
152	——	ECXEC	17.0	360°	*cf.* H.385
	Same *obv.* die as 151 *Almost extremely fine; ex Simpson*				
153	——	ECXEC	16.7	90°	H.385
	Same *rev.* die as 152 *Good very fine; ex Hooper*				
	GOD(A)				
154	Quatrefoil	EAXCES	12.9	90°	H.390
	Very fine but slightly bent; ex Simpson				
155	——	EAXCESTRE	15.3	270°	*cf.* H.389
	Good very fine; ex Lockett (2779)				

Lot					
156	——	EXCEST	19.4	360°	—
	Trefoils at cusps of quatrefoil on *rev.* *Almost extremely fine and a very rare variety (H. type Ei), not in Hildebrand for mint; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton* (543). *Wheeler* (71) *and Ryan* (829)				
157	Helmet	EXCESTRE	16.8	360°	H.392
	Reads GODD *Almost extremely fine; ex Simpson*				
158	——	EXCESTRE	16.7	90°	*cf.* H.392
	Reads GODD, same *rev.* die as 157 *Good very fine; ex Simpson*				
159	——	EXCEST	14.4	180°	H.391
	Reads GODAN *Very fine but cracked*				
	HUNEMAN				
160	Short Cross	ECX	17.1	180°	H.394
	Bent but good fine, the only type for the moneyer; ex R. Carlyon-Britton				
	LEOFWINE				
161	Helmet	ECX	15.6	270°	H.400
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
162	——	ECXC	15.2	270°	H.401
	Very fine; ex Hooper				
	MANNA				
163	Quatrefoil	EAXC	16.5	360°	H.404
	Extremely fine; ex Wells				
164	——	EAXC	14.4	360°	H.405
	Almost very fine but cracked; ex Radford (18)				
165	——	EAXCEST	13.3	360°	H.406
	Small edge crack and bent, almost very fine; ex Hooper				
	SAEWINE				
166	Quatrefoil	EXC	13.6	90°	*cf.* H.407
	Rev. weak, very fine				
167	Helmet	ECCXCE	17.0	270°	BMC 69
	Good very fine; ex Simpson				

Lot					
168	——	ECXCES	17.3	270°	H.410
	Trace of crack, good very fine; ex Argyll				
169	——	EXCEST	16.6	270°	H.411
	Same *obv.* die as 167 *Almost extremely fine; ex Simpson*				
	WINE				
170	Quatrefoil	EAXCES	14.6	360°	H.417
	Very fine, only type of the moneyer; ex Simpson				
	WVLFSIE				
171	Quatrefoil	EXC	22.8	90°	—
	Very fine and full, 172 *excepted, the only coin of the moneyer of the mint; ex Argyll*				
172	——	EXC	22.7	360°	
	Trefoils at cusps of quatrefoil on *rev.* *Good very fine with slight crack but a very rare variety* (*H. type Ei*) *and the only other coin of this moneyer* (*see* 171); *ex Lockett* (3757)				
	WULFSTAN				
173	Helmet	EAX	15.7	270°	*cf.* H.428
	Very fine but obv. weak				
174	——	ECX	15.5	90°	BMC 70
	Good very fine; ex Argyll				
175	——	ECXEC	15.7	360°	H.428
	Same *obv.* die as 173 *Almost very fine but cracked; ex Lockett* (735)				
176	Short Cross	ECX	16.5	360°	H.430
	Good very fine				

Harold I (Joint 1035-37, Sole 1037-40)

Type	*Hildebrand*	*Brettell Nos.*
Joint reign with Harthacnut		
Jewel Cross	A	177, 180, 181
Sole reign		
Fleur-de-Lis	B	179, 182, 183
—— variety with trefoils on reverse	Ba	178

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Edmaer				
177	Jewel Cross *Good very fine and rare; ex Simpson*	ECXEC	17.7	180°	H.126
178	Fleur-de-Lis Trefoil variety (H. type Ba) *Slightly bent, almost extremely fine, rare; ex Simpson*	ECXE	16.8	180°	H.130
179	—— *Extremely fine but slightly bent, rare; ex Glendining 1st February,* 1955 (271)	ECXE	17.7	180°	H.131
	Edsigie				
180	Jewel Cross *Almost extremely fine, an extremely rare moneyer; ex Addington, Montagu II* (51), *Grantley* (1162) *and Simpson*	ECXEC	16.8	180°	—
	Haerra				
181	Jewel Cross *Almost extremely fine, rare, the moneyer only otherwise known in Jewel Cross of Harthacnut*	ECXECC	17.7	180°	H.132
	Leofwine				
182	Fleur-de-Lis *Very fine and rare*	E	14.3	90°	H.134
	Manleof				
183	Fleur-de-Lis *Very fine, rare, the moneyer only otherwise known in Arm-and-Sceptre of Harthacnut* (*see* 186)	EX	16.9	360°	H.136

Harthacnut (Joint 1035-37, Sole 1040-42)

Type	*Hildebrand*	*Brettell Nos.*
Joint reign with Harold I		
Jewel Cross		
—— Left facing bust	A	Not represented
—— Right facing bust	Aa	187
Sole reign		
Arm-and-Sceptre	B	184-186

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Dode				
184	Arm-and-Sceptre *Rev.* initial cross at 1 o'clock *Very fine and very rare; ex Ryan* (844)	EXECE	16.9	360°	H.32

LOT

EDMAER

185 Arm-and-Sceptre EXCESR 16.9 270° H.33
Almost extremely fine and very rare; ex Dunbrody Abbey Hoard (Co. Wexford), Grantley (1177) *and Simpson*

MANLEOF

186 Arm-and-Sceptre ECXEC 17.8 180° H.37
Very fine and very rare, the moneyer only otherwise known in Fleur-de-Lis of Harold I (*see* 183); *ex Parsons,* 1954 (188)

WULNOTH

187 Jewel Cross EXCE 16.9 360° —
Bust right (H. type Aa)
Almost extremely fine and very rare (*cf. H.*40 *with bust left*); *ex Dymock, Young, Brice, Montagu II* (100), *Radford* (19) *and Simpson*

INTERVAL

Sale recommences at 1 p.m. precisely

Edward the Confessor (1042-1066)

Type	*Hildebrand*	*BMC*	*Brettell Nos.*
Pacx	D	IV	200, 207, 209, 210, 237
Radiate	A	I	195-198, 202
Trefoil-Quadrilateral	C	III	199, 212, 213, 229
Small Flan	B	II	Not represented
Expanding Cross	E	V	203-206, 208, 214, 227, 230
Helmet	F	VII	188, 189, 215, 231, 232
Sovereign	H	IX	190, 216, 217, 223, 224, 233
Hammer Cross	G	XI	191-194, 218-220, 228, 234-236
Facing Bust	Ac	XIII	201, 211, 221, 222, 225
Pyramids	K	XV	226, 238-240

LOT *Type* *Mint reading* *Wt.* *Die Axis* *Ref.*

AELFRIC

188 Helmet EXCES 20.1 270° BMC 215
Fleur-de-lis sceptre, S (retrograde) from two crescents
Good very fine; ex Simpson

189 —— EXCESTR 16.7 90° *cf.* BMC 215
Fleur-de-lis sceptre
Pierced but good fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton

Lot					
190	Sovereign *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EXEC	20.1	360°	BMC 222
191	Hammer Cross Pellet by mouth *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EXECES	20.3	360°	*cf.* BMC 226
192	—— Same *rev.* die as **191** *Extremely fine; ex Simpson*	EXECES	20.5	180°	*cf.* BMC 226
193	—— *Very fine*	EXECEST	20.5	90°	BMC 227
194	—— *Almost extremely fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton*	EXECESTE	20.1	270°	*cf.* BMC 228
	AELFWINE				
195	Radiate *Very fine but one quarter weak*	ECEX	17.1	270°	*cf.* H.87
196	—— *Very fine; ex Drabble* (525)	ECXEC	17.3	270°	H.87
197	—— Reads AELPIE *Very fine; ex Simpson*	ECXE	14.6	180°	*cf.* H.87
198	—— *Good very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton*	ECXEC	16.8	90°	*cf.* H.87
199	Trefoil-Quadrilateral *Extremely fine*	ECXE	16.8	270°	—
	DODA				
200	Pacx *Broken and repaired but fine and rare, only type of the moneyer for the reign; ex Grantley* (1197) *and Argyll*	EXCES	16.8	90°	—
	(EADWARD)				
201	Facing Bust A Canterbury coin wrongly attributed in BMC *Good very fine*	E	16.3	90°	BMC 232
	EDMAER				
202	Radiate *Almost very fine; ex Grantley* (1185) *and Argyll*	CXCEST	17.9	180°	*cf.* H.88

LOT

EDSIE

203 Expanding Cross EXCESTR 25.1 180° BMC 210
Very fine but pierced (11 *o'clock*), *the only type of the moneyer for the reign; ex Simpson*

EDWINE

204 Expanding Cross EXECEST 25.9 180° BMC 211
Reads EDWII
Very fine, only type of the moneyer for the reign; ex Simpson

205 —— EXECEST 19.2 360° BMC 211
Same dies as 204
Fine but corroded

206 —— EXECEST 25.7 360° *cf.* BMC 211
Same *rev.* die as 204, 205
Good very fine

ED(- - - -)

207 Pacx EX 9.0 180° —
Cut halfpenny; no die-duplicate traced to identify moneyer, perhaps Edmaer (H. 89, 90) or Edwold (Montagu II, 135)
Almost extremely fine; ex Hooper

HUNEWINE

208 Expanding Cross EXC 25.7 270° BMC 212
Almost extremely fine, moneyer only otherwise known of previous type for the reign; ex Radford (20)

LEOFWINE

209 Pacx EC 16.6 180° BMC 209
Reads LEOFPINC, N with extra serif at bottom
Almost extremely fine; ex Grantley (1197) *and Argyll*

210 —— EC 17.6 90° *cf.* BMC 209
Double band to diadem, same *rev.* die as 209
Good very fine; ex Reynolds (73) *and Lockett* (2809)

211 Facing Bust EXEC 16.9 90° —
Reads EOFPINE
Very fine and very rare; possibly ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton (635)

Lot					
	LIFINC				
212	Trefoil-Quadrilateral *Almost extremely fine; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton* (1108) *and Lockett* (793)	EXEC	16.6	270°	H.93
213	—— *Good very fine*	ECXCE	18.4	90°	*cf.* H.93
214	Expanding Cross Pellet in 3rd quarter *Edge crack and slightly bent but very fine; ex Argyll*	EXSCEX	17.6	180°	H.94
215	Helmet Fleur-de-lis sceptre *Almost extremely fine; ex Radford* (20)	EXECESTR	20.6	90°	BMC 218
216	Sovereign *Extremely fine*	EXECES	20.1	90°	BMC 224
217	—— *Very fine; ex Argyll*	EXECCSTER	19.6	360°	*cf.* BMC 224
218	Hammer Cross *Very fine; ex Hooper*	EXECEST	16.5	270°	BMC 229
219	—— Same *rev.* die as 218 *Good very fine*	EXECEST	19.1	90°	*cf.* BMC 229
220	—— Small bust *Good very fine*	EXECEST	17.9	270°	*cf.* BMC 229
221	Facing Bust Reads LIFING (round G) *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EXECE	17.5	360°	*cf.* BMC 233
222	—— Same *rev.* die as 221 *Good very fine; ex Chancton Hoard, Sir John Evans and Lockett* (2826)	EXECE	17.1	180°	BMC 233
	SAEWINE				
223	Sovereign *Obv. fine, rev. very fine; ex Simpson*	EXECES	20.5	360°	F.893

Lot					
224	——	EXECES	20.8	180°	*cf.* F.893
	Same *rev.* die as 223 *Very fine; ex Simpson*				
225	Facing Bust	EXECE	16.9	90°	—
	Good very fine; ex Radford (20)				
226	Pyramids	EXEEE	18.2	270°	BMC 234
	Very fine				
	SAEWULF				
227	Expanding Cross	EXCEST	25.2	90°	—
	Extremely fine, only known type of the moneyer				
	WICING				
228	Hammer Cross	EXECEST	20.7	180°	BMC 230
	Slightly bent, good very fine, only known type of the moneyer; ex R. Carlyon-Britton				
	WULFMAER				
229	Trefoil-Quadrilateral	ECXE	17.3	270°	BMC 208
	Good very fine; ex Hooper				
230	Expanding Cross	EXSCEX	15.6	180°	BMC 214
	Good very fine; ex Simpson				
231	Helmet	ECXECE	20.7	270°	BMC 220
	Cross pattée sceptre *Very fine; ex Argyll*				
232	——	EXEES	20.0	270°	*cf.* BMC 221
	Fleur-de-lis sceptre, S retrograde *Good very fine; ex Lockett* (2814)				
233	Sovereign	EXC	19.0	270°	BMC 225
	Partly corroded both sides, otherwise very fine; ex Lockett (2819)				
234	Hammer Cross	EXECE	18.4	360°	*cf.* BMC 231
	Good very fine, toned; ex Argyll				
235	——	EXECEST	20.2	270°	*cf.* BMC 231
	Very fine				
236	——	EXECEST	19.5	270°	BMC 231
	Very fine; ex Simpson				

Lot					
	Wulfnoth				
237	Pacx	EX	16.4	270°	—
	Almost extremely fine, rare; ex Hooper				
238	Pyramids	EXECE	17.4	360°	—
	Bust of coarse work, *cf.* Hunter 1170 *Very fine*				
239	——	ECECE	20.4	270°	—
	Another coarser bust, *rev.* same die as Hunter 1170 *Almost very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton*				
	Wulfwine				
240	Pyramids	EXE	19.3	90°	*cf.* BMC 235
	Pierced, almost very fine				

Harold II (1066)

Type	*BMC*	*Brettell Nos.*
With sceptre	I	243
Without sceptre	Ia	241, 242, 244

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Brihtric				
241	No sceptre	EXE	20.5	360°	—
	Pellet behind neck *Good very fine, very rare; ex Simpson*				
242	——	EXE	15.2	270°	—
	Pellet behind head (same *obv.* die as 241) and bars in field, above and below on *rev.* *Very fine, an extremely rare variety; ex Parsons,* 1954 (210)				
	Leofwine				
243	With sceptre	EXEC	20.6	360°	BMC 25
	Good very fine, toned and rare for mint with sceptre; ex Radford (21) *and Simpson*				
	Lifinc				
244	No sceptre	EXECESTRE	20.1	90°	*cf.* BMC 27
	Good very fine, very rare; ex Barnes, Bliss (137), *Drabble* (895) *and Simpson*				

William I (1066-1087)

Type	*BMC*	*Brettell Nos.*
Profile Left	I	251-253, 261
Bonnet	II	245, 262
Canopy	III	246, 263, 287
Two Sceptres	IV	247, 248, 275, 288-290
Two Stars	V	249, 250, 264, 276, 277, 291
Sword	VI	265, 278
Profile Right	VII	266, 279
Paxs	VIII	254-260, 267-274, 280-286

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	AELFWINE				
245	Bonnet	EXS	18.5	90°	—
	Very fine and extremely rare type for mint; ex "E. Heron-Allen"				
246	Canopy	EXEI	18.9	360°	BMC 184
	Obv. die link with London (BMC 201)				
	Almost extremely fine, rare and interesting; ex Morrieson (47) *and Simpson*				
247	Two Sceptres	EXECI	20.7	90°	—
	Good very fine				
248	——	EXCE	20.9	90°	—
	Obverse double struck, fine				
249	Two Stars	IEXI	21.2	90°	*cf.* BMC 313
	Reads AEMLFPINE				
	Very fine; ex Simpson				
250	——	IEX	19.0	360°	—
	Rather cracked, otherwise fine				
	BRIHTRIC				
251	Profile Left	EXEC	19.6	90°	—
	Good very fine, the only type of the moneyer for the reign at this mint; ex Simpson				
	"ELWNI"				
252	Profile Left	EXECSDE	15.9	180°	—
	From same *rev.* die as BMC pl. II, 6, which Brooke demonstrated was altered from ELFSI ON LUNDE (BMC p. CXLIX)				
	Obverse double-struck, good fine and an interesting lightweight contemporary forgery from official dies				

Lot					
	Goda				
253	Profile Left	EXECESTR	14.9	90°	S.2
	Broken and repaired but fine, only known type of the moneyer, recorded in BMC from this specimen; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton and Simpson				
	Lifwine				
254	Paxs (4)	IEXE	21.0	360°	—
	Good very fine				
255	—— (3)	IEXE	20.2	180°	BMC 657
	Same *obv.* die as BMC 665 (Semier) *Good very fine*				
256	—— (4)	IEXEC	20.7	270°	BMC 654
	Same *obv.* die as BMC 673 (Saewine) *Good very fine*				
257	—— (3)	IEXEC	21.7	270°	BMC 655
	Obverse double-struck but good fine; ex Simpson				
258	—— (1)	IEXEC	21.0	180°	*cf.* BMC 655
	Very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton				
259	—— (4)	IEXE	22.1	180°	*cf.* BMC 659
	Top bar of crown omitted and annulet on king's left shoulder, same *obv.* die of small neat style as BMC 670 (Semier) *Very fine; ex Wells*				
260	—— (4)	IEXI	21.0	360°	—
	Same *obv.* die as 259 (BMC 670, Semier), *rev.* die differs *Weak at top and bottom both sides, otherwise very fine*				
	Livinc				
261	Profile Left	EXECESI	20.1	90°	BMC 15
	Edge cut but good fine, only known type of the moneyer for the reign; ex Rashleigh (346), *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton* (674) *and Lockett* (2838)				
	Saeward				
262	Bonnet	EXEC	17.6	225°	—
	S reversed on *rev.* *Dented but good fine and extremely rare type for mint; ex Drabble* (559)				

LOT

263 Canopy EXECI 18.1 90° —
Slight scratches on reverse but very fine and extremely rare, published in BMC from this specimen; ex Brice, Montagu II (198), *Walters* (144) *and Lockett* (2853)

264 Two Stars IEXECI 20.7 180° BMC 317
Very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton

SEMIER

265 Sword IEXECI 21.0 360° —
Extremely fine and extremely rare, published in BMC from this specimen; ex Rashleigh (348) *and Lockett* (2869)

266 Profile Right IEXSCI 19.5 360° BMC 457
Trefoil on king's right shoulder omitted
Very fine and a very rare type; ex Witte (121) *and Lockett* (2872)

267 Paxs (2) IEXCT 20.7 90° BMC 663
Very fine

268 —— (4) IEXEC 20.8 270° *cf.* BMC 669
Almost very fine

269 —— (4) IEXEC 21.4 180° *cf.* BMC 670
Top bar of crown omitted and annulet on king's left shoulder, same *obv.* die as BMC 659 (Lifwine) and 286 (BMC 671, Sewine)
Bent and varnished but fine

270 —— (4) IEXEC 21.5 90° *cf.* BMC 666
Very fine

271 —— (1) IEXEC 21.3 270° *cf.* BMC 666
Almost very fine

272 —— (3) IEXECE 21.5 90° *cf.* BMC 664/7
Almost very fine; ex Simpson

273 —— (4) IEXEC 21.2 360° BMC 668
Pellet on king's left shoulder omitted, *obv.* die used at Barnstaple (BMC 498, 499 and p. CXXXIX)
Almost very fine and an interesting die-link

274 —— (4) IEXEC 21.4 270° —
Slight scratch on obverse but very fine

Lot					
	Saewine				
275	Two Sceptres *Very fine; ex Simpson*	EXCI	21.0	360°	*cf.* BMC 231
276	Two Stars *Double-struck both sides, otherwise very fine; ex Murdoch* (188), *P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton* (1237) *and Simpson*	IEXECI	20.7	90°	BMC 316
277	—— Stars by bust large (coarse) and pellets on shoulders near inner circle, same *rev.* die as 276 *Almost very fine; ex Simpson*	IEXECI	20.5	180°	*cf.* BMC 316
278	Sword *Very fine and very rare; ex Simpson*	IEXECI	21.0	360°	BMC 404
279	Profile Right *Very fine and extremely rare, recorded in BMC from Sainthill's Olla Podrida; ex Glendining, 6 Apr.,* 1954 (166)	IEXSEC	20.3	90°	—
280	Paxs (2) *Very fine*	IEXEC	21.1	180°	BMC 675
281	—— (2) *Almost very fine*	IEXEC	20.5	180°	BMC 674
282	—— (4) *Weak, otherwise very fine*	IEXEC	21.6	180°	—
283	—— (1) *Almost very fine*	IEXEC	20.7	270°	—
284	—— (2) Top bar of crown omitted and annulet on king's left shoulder, same *obv.* die as BMC 659 (Lifwine) and 269 *Weak, very fine; ex Simpson*	IEXEC	20.8	90°	BMC 672
285	—— (4) Annulet on king's right shoulder *Off-centre, almost very fine*	IEXEC	20.8	270°	—
286	—— Same *obv.* die as 284 and 269 *Almost extremely fine*	IEXEC	21.1	180°	BMC 671

Lot					
	Sweotinc				
287	Canopy	EXECE	19.5	270°	BMC 185
	Reads SPOTTINC, crescent-shaped brooch on king's right shoulder *Slight edge damage, almost very fine, rare; ex Simpson*				
288	Two Sceptres	EXEE	19.7	270°	BMC 232
	Almost extremely fine; ex Morrieson (48) *and Simpson*				
289	——	EXEE(?)	20.5	180°	*cf.* BMC 233
	Reads SPOTINC *Good very fine; ex Glendining, 6 Apr.,* 1954 (162)				
	Wulfwine				
290	Two Sceptres	EXEI	19.1	90°	—
	Almost extremely fine and very rare, recorded in BMC from this specimen; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton (1224) *and Drabble* (572)				
291	Two Stars	IEXE	20.7	360°	BMC 318
	Almost very fine, a little crimped				

William II (1087-1100)

Type	*BMC*	*Brettell Nos.*
Profile	I	296
Cross in Quatrefoil	II	292
Cross Voided	III	Not represented
Cross Pattée and Fleury	IV	293
Cross Fleury and Piles	V	294, 295

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Lifwine				
292	Cross in Quatrefoil	IEXS	20.3	270°	S.190
	Almost extremely fine and extremely rare, recorded in BMC from this specimen; ex Allen (309) *and Lockett* (1008)				
293	Cross Patté and Fleury	IEX[]	17.3	180°	—
	Three fragments only, very fine and extremely rare, the only recorded specimen of this moneyer for the type				
294	Cross Fleury and Piles	IEX	20.9	180°	—
	Obverse a little off-centre, very fine and very rare				
295	——	IE[X]	16.1	360°	—
	Same dies as 294 *Large fragment, obverse very fine, reverse fine; ex Walters* (111)				

Lot					
	Saewine				
296	Profile	iexcec	21.1	180°	*cf.* BMC 15
	Obverse weak, good very fine and very rare; ex Bruun (211) *and Lockett* (2884)				

Henry I (1100-1135)

Of the 15 types of the reign, only the following are known: —

Type	*BMC*	*Brettell Nos.*
Profile/Cross Fleury	II	302
Quatrefoil and Stars	VII	Not represented
Profile/Cross and Annulets	XII	Not represented
Pellets in Quatrefoil	XIV	298, 299
Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury	XV	297, 300, 301

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Brhicdwi				
297	Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury	[e]xce	21.6	90°	BMC 213
	Reverse off-centre, almost very fine, rare; ex parcel of 16 *coins purchased from the Bedford area* (*see* 314)				
	Uncertain moneyer (? Dunning)				
298	Pellets in Quatrefoil	exc[-]	20.2	340°	—
	Legends weak, fine and the only known specimen of the type which may be attributable to this moneyer				
	He[- - -]ng				
299	Pellets in Quatrefoil	?e[- - -]	21.3	90°	—
	Quatrefoil of four pellets after moneyer's name *Fine but weak in parts, extremely rare, the only recorded specimen of this moneyer and possibly of the Exeter mint*				
	Helhi (?)				
300	Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury	exces	21.1	90°	*cf.* BMC 219
	Moneyer's name reads hel?[- -], same *obv.* die as BMC 219 *Weak but fine, very rare; ex Rashleigh* (410)				
301	——	[ex]cest	19.6	225°	*cf.* BMC 219
	Moneyer's name appears to read h[-]lhi *Edge split, chipped and cracked, fine but weakly struck*				

Lot						
	[Sae]wine *or* [Lif]wine					
302	Profile/Cross Fleury	iex	19.4	360°	—	
	Small edge chip, very fine and excessively rare, the only recorded Exeter coin of this type; ex P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton and Lockett (2913)					

Stephen (1135-1154)

Only three of the seven BMC types of this reign were struck widely throughout the country

Type	*BMC*	*Brettell Nos.*
Watford	I	303, 304, 306-309
Mullets	II	Not recorded for the Exeter mint
Awbridge	VII	305, 310

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Ailric				
303	Watford	[e]xces	21.3	225°	*cf.* BMC 31
	Off-centre, weak, and only partly legible, almost very fine; ex Rashleigh (580)				
304	——	[e]xce	13.9	270°	*cf.* BMC 31
	Plugged, small, fine				
305	Awbridge	[- - - c -]	20.0	360°	*cf.* BMC 191
	Same *rev.* die as BMC 191 and illustrated BNJ XXVIII, pl. XXXI, 7				
	Legend partly illegible, otherwise almost very fine, very rare, the only moneyer recorded for the type; ex Simpson				
	Algar				
306	Watford	exc	21.0	320°	—
	Weak both sides and bent, fine, the only type of this moneyer; ex Rashleigh (505)				
307	——	exces	21.7	90°	—
	Irregular shape, obverse very weak, reverse fine				
	[- - -]ier				
308	Watford	ex[c]	20.6	90°	—
	Square flan, legends weak, very fine and no other coin recorded with a comparable reading; ex Drabble (697) *and Lockett* (2948)				

Lot						
	(Simvn)					
309	Watford	?EAN:		21.6	180°	—
	Unevenly struck but good fine; perhaps Canterbury as suggested by Brooke (BMC p. CCXI) probably on the basis of this coin (see Murdoch (247) and P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton (1443))					
	Uncertain Moneyer					
310	Awbridge	??		10.1	?	—
	Cut halfpenny of uncertain mint and moneyer *Fine; allegedly from the Awbridge Find*					

Tealby Issue (1158-80)

Type	*Brettell Nos.*
Bust A	311-314
,, B, ,, C, ,, D	Not represented
,, E, ,, F	Not recorded for the Exeter mint

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Guncelin				
311	Bust A_1	EXCE	22.2	360°	BMC 263
	Off-centre and double-struck but fine and rare; ex Simpson				
312	Bust A_2	EXCS	21.6	310°	BMC 264
	Weak, almost very fine, rare; ex Simpson				
	Rogier				
313	Bust A_2	EX[CES]	21.6	270°	BMC 269
	Weak, fine and rare				
314	——	EXCES	21.9	270°	cf. BMC 269
	Dies not in BMC *Almost fine, rare; ex parcel of 16 coins purchased from the Bedford area (see 297)*				

Shortcross Issue (1180-1247)

Type	*Brettell Nos.*
Class I	315, 316, 322-331, 336
,, II	Not known for the Exeter mint
,, III	Not represented
,, IV	Not known for the Exeter mint
,, Va, b	317-321, 332-335
,, Vc–VIII	Not struck

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	ASKETIL				
315	Class Ib *Almost very fine*	EXEC	20.1	180°	—
316	—— Ib Same dies as 315 *Pierced, fine*	E[X]EC	18.7	90°	—
	GILEBERT				
317	Class Va Reversed S and reads RE/X, *rev.* cross pommée *Almost extremely fine*	EC	20.5	160°	—
318	—— Vb Reads GILEBERD *Off-centre, good fine*	EC	21.6	360°	—
	IOHAN				
319	Class Vb Crescent eyes *Very fine*	ECCE	20.7	120°	—
320	—— Vb Annulet eyes, dies differ *Off-centre, almost very fine*	ECCE	16.8	225°	—
321	—— Vb Same *obv.* die as 319 *Bent, fine*	ECC	20.0	270°	—
	JORDAN				
322	Class Ia Square E's both sides, round C and unusual spelling of mint name *Very fine and rare*	EXEH	16.7	240°	—
323	—— Ib *Off-centre, fine; ex Radford* (22B)	[- -]CE	18.5	360°	—
324	—— Ib *Almost very fine*	EXEC	19.1	225°	—
	OSBER				
325	Class Ib Reads OSBEI *Very fine but one edge weak, very rare with this reading*	EXECES	21.9	45°	—

LOT

RAVL

326 Class Ib EXECES 21.5 240° —
Reads RAV
Almost very fine, a rare mis-spelling of moneyer's name

RICARD

327 Class Ib EXEC 21.4 225° —
L. A. Lawrence sale catalogue, Glendining 14 Mar. 1951 (lot 415), suggests that this is struck from an altered London *rev.* die, the C and E apparently over square letters
Good fine and a most unusual coin

328 —— Ib EXEC 22.1 270° —
Almost very fine

329 —— Ib EXEC 21.6 360° —
Obverse very fine, reverse double-struck, fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton

330 —— Ib EXEC 21.3 210° —
Almost very fine but weak

331 —— Ic EXEC 20.7 360° —
Small, fine, but very rare class for the mint

332 —— Va ECCE 19.9 150° —
Same *obv.* die (later state) as 317 (Gilebert)
Almost very fine; ex Grantley (1339)

333 —— Vb ECC 15.6 250° —
Small, reverse off-centre, almost very fine; ex R. Carlyon-Britton

334 —— Vb ECC 20.2 210° —
Reverse off-centre, almost very fine

335 —— Vb ECC 20.1 180° —
Reverse off-centre, good fine

ROGER

336 Class Ib EXECE 21.7 120° —
One edge weak, almost very fine

Longcross Issue (1247-1278)

Type	*Brettell Nos.*
Class I	Not struck
,, II	337-340, 345, 348
,, III	341-344, 346, 347, 349-354
,, IV–VII	Not struck

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
	Ion				
337	Class II *Rev.* reads ION ON *Weak in parts, almost very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCETRE	21.7	270°	—
338	—— II *Rev.* reads IOH OH *Flaws on obverse, very fine*	ECCETRE	22.6	90°	—
339	—— II Same *obv.* die as 338, *rev.* reads IOH OH (ligulate) *Corroded on obv., good fine*	ECCETRE	20.2	45°	—
340	—— II Same *obv.* die as 337, *rev.* reads ION ON (ligulate) *Good fine*	ECCETRE	21.4	90°	—
341	—— IIIb *Edge flaw but very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCETRE	22.2	315°	—
342	—— IIIb Dies differ *Very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCETRE	20.1	120°	—
343	——IIIb Dies differ *Very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCETRE	21.3	45°	—
344	—— IIb *Obverse weak, almost very fine*	ECCETRE	22.6	30°	—
	Philip				
345	Class II *Good very fine*	ECCE	21.7	315°	—
346	—— IIIb *Weak, almost very fine*	ECCE	22.2	315°	—
347	—— IIIb Dies differ *Very fine*	ECCE	23.4	90°	—
	Robert				
348	Class II *Good very fine*	ECCE	23.9	300°	—

Lot					
349	—— IIIb *Very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCE	18.5	90°	—
350	—— IIIb Dies differ *Almost very fine*	ECCE	21.4	160°	—
	Walter				
351	Class IIIb *Very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCE	20.7	270°	—
352	—— IIIb Dies differ *Fine*	ECCET	22.7	45°	—
353	—— IIIb Dies differ *Almost very fine*	ECCET	22.9	90°	—
354	—— IIIb *Weak, almost very fine; ex Simpson*	ECCET	17.7	135°	—

Edward I (1277-1307)

Exeter only struck coins of Fox class IXb for the recoinage of 1300

Lot	*Type*	*Mint reading*	*Wt.*	*Die Axis*	*Ref.*
355	Class IXb *Almost very fine; ex Simpson*	EXONIE	18.6	45°	—
356	—— IXb Dies differ *Good fine*	EXONIE	20.9	30°	—
357	—— IXb Dies differ *Has been mounted at edge, fine; ex Simpson*	EXONIE	21.3	150°	—

CIVIL WAR ISSUES OF CHARLES I (1625-1649)

Combe Martin Mint (1645-1648)

358 Groat, m.m. crown, bust left with plume in front, *rev.* oval shield with large plume above. *Creased, almost very fine, rare; ex Simpson.*

LOT

359 Threepence, m.m. crown, types similar to 358, no pellets by m.m. on *obv. Good very fine; ex Simpson.*

Exeter Mint (1643-1646)

360 Crown, 1644, m.m. rose, king on horseback facing three-quarters left with sash in bow, colon stops, *rev.* m.m. divides date (Lockett 6). *Pawnbroker's number in obverse field but very fine; ex Morrieson* (444) *and Simpson.*

361 Crown, 1644, same *obv.* die as 360, *rev.* small shield, date to left of m.m. (Lockett 7). *Obverse smoothed, almost very fine and round; ex Simpson.*

362 Crown, 1644, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 360 and 361, *rev.* garnishing differs, small bird-headed harp (Lockett 8). *Legends double-struck, otherwise very fine; ex Simpson.*

363 Crown, 1644, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 360-362, *rev.* from a similar die with colon stops by date (Lockett 8c). *Very fine; ex Simpson.*

364 Crown, 1645, *obv.* m.m. rose, same dies as 360-363, *rev.* m.m. EX and dated 1645 (Lockett 9a). *Obverse smoothed and with pawnbroker's number in field, fine and rare; ex Simpson.*

365 Crown, 1645, *obv.* m.m. castle, similar but king's sash has two loose ends, *rev.* m.m. rose, bird-headed harp (Lockett 10). *Scored across horse but very fine, rare; ex Rashleigh* (907), *Morrieson* (447) *and Simpson.*

366 Crown, 1645, *obv.* m.m. castle, same die as 365, *rev.* m.m. EX, same die as 364 (Lockett 11). *Striking split and slight double-striking but very fine, rare; ex Simpson.*

367 Crown, 1645, m.m. castle, same *obv.* die as 365 (Lockett 12). *Very fine and round; ex Simpson.*

368 Crown, 1645, m.m. castle, same *obv.* die as 365-367, *rev.* die differs (Lockett 12g-i). *Obverse double-struck and weak in parts, otherwise very fine; ex Simpson.*

369 Crown, 1645, m.m. castle, same *obv.* die as 365-368, *rev.* garnishing to shield as 362, no stop before CHRISTO (Lockett 12j). *Irregular, fair; ex Simpson.*

370 Crown, 1645, m.m. castle, similar to 367 (Lockett 12). *Double-struck at top both sides, good fine.*

LOT

371 Halfcrown, undated, perhaps Truro, m.m. rose, king on walking horse, *rev.* oval garnished shield with scrolls, pellets between (Lockett 14). *Weak at bottom, otherwise almost extremely fine; ex Simpson.*

372 Halfcrown, undated, perhaps Truro, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 371, *rev.* similar but without pellets by m.m. (Lockett 14 var.). *Weak but very fine and round; ex Simpson.*

373 Halfcrown, undated, perhaps Truro, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 371 and 372, *rev.* colon and semi-colon stops (Lockett 17). *One edge weak, almost extremely fine; ex Simpson.*

374 Halfcrown, undated, perhaps Truro, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 371-373, *rev.* die differs (Lockett *obv.* 17, *rev.* 18). *A little weak but very fine; ex Simpson.*

375 Halfcrown, undated, perhaps Truro, m.m. rose, Briot's horse, *rev.* oval shield with garnishing inverted (Lockett 19 var.; *cf.* Ryan (1190) and Lockett (3513)). *Striking split and weak at edge, very fine; ex Simpson.*

376 Halfcrown, 1644, m.m. rose, horse with twisted tail, *rev.* small date without serifs (*cf.* Lockett 26, dies differ). *Reverse double-struck, otherwise extremely fine and round; ex Simpson.*

377 Halfcrown, 1644, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 376, *rev.* large date with serifs (Lockett 27). *Irregular, very fine; ex Simpson.*

378 Halfcrown, 1644, *obv.* m.m. rose, same die as 376 and 377, *rev.* m.m EX (9 o'clock), Declaration in two lines with pellet stops, three plumes above and 1644 EX below (Lockett 28 var.). *Fine and extremely rare; ex Wigan, Marsham, Rashleigh* (944), *Morrieson* (507) *and Simpson.*

379 Halfcrown, 1645, *obv.* m.m. rose, same die as 376-378, *rev.* m.m. castle, harp tilted to left (Lockett 31 var.). *Almost very fine; ex Simpson.*

380 Halfcrown, 1645, *obv.* m.m. rose, same die as 376-379, *rev.* m.m. EX, no pellet before CHRISTO, colon stops (Lockett 32b var.). *Flaw in obverse field, otherwise fine; ex Simpson.*

381 Halfcrown, 1645, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 376-380 (Lockett 34 var.). *Almost very fine.*

LOT

382 Shilling, 1644, m.m. rose, bust left, *rev.* garnished shield with small harp (Lockett 11). *Flaw and scratches by face, otherwise very fine; ex Simpson.*

383 Shilling, 1645, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 382, *rev.* similar (Lockett 14). *Reverse off-centre, very fine; ex Simpson.*

384 Shilling, 1645, *obv.* m.m. rose, same die as 382 and 383, *rev.* Declaration in three lines, three plumes above and date below (Lockett 15). *A little weak in parts but very fine and full, extremely rare; ex Simpson.*

385 Sixpence, 1644, m.m. rose with small lettering, *rev.* m.m. divides date (Lockett 1). *Irregular, good fine; ex Simpson.*

386 Sixpence, 1644, m.m. rose with large lettering, *rev.* date to left of m.m. (Lockett 2).)*Fine; ex Simpson.*

387 Groat, 1644, m.m. rose, date to right of *obv.* m.m. (Lockett 1). *Almost extremely fine; ex Simpson.*

388 Threepence, 1644, m.m. rose, *rev.* square shield (date above) on cross fleury (Locket 1). *Weak at one edge, otherwise extremely fine and full; ex Simpson.*

389 Half-groat, 1644, m.m. rose, *rev.* oval garnished shield (Lockett 1). *Plugged but fine and rare; ex Simpson.*

390 Half-groat, 1644, m.m. rose, same *obv.* die as 389, *rev.* large rose (Lockett 2). *Plugged in centre, about fine, rare; ex Simpson.*

391 Penny, 1644, m.m. rose, types similar to 390 (Lockett 1). *Very fine with good portrait, extremely rare; ex Simpson.*

Lundy Island Mint (1645-1646)

392 Halfcrown, 1646, m.m. plume, plumelet behind king and below horse, *rev.* Declaration, three plumes and scroll ornament above, date below (Morrieson B-3). *Tooled in the fields but good fine, rare; ex Simpson.*

393 Shilling, 1646, m.m. plume on *obv.* only, Shrewsbury plume in front of face, *rev.* plume between two plumelets above Declaration (Morrieson A-3). *Obverse off-centre, good fine, reverse slightly double-struck, very fine and rare; ex Simpson.*

LOT

394 Sixpence, 1646, m.m. B on *obv.* only, types similar to 393, *rev.* reads PROT (Morrieson A-2). *Obverse double-struck, otherwise very fine; ex Simpson.*

395 Sixpence, 1646, m.m. B on *obv.* only, same dies as 394. *Dented, almost very fine.*

396 Groat, 1646, m.m. plumelet on *obv.* only, types similar to 395 (Morrieson A-2). *Extremely fine and rare thus, ex Simpson.*

397 Groat, 1646, m.m. plumelet, types similar to 396 (Morrieson A-1). *Almost very fine; ex Simpson.*

398 Threepence, 1646, m.m. plumelet on *obv.* only, types similar to 397 (Morrieson A-1). *Very fine but pierced; ex Simpson.*

WILLIAM III (1694-1702)

399 Halfcrown, 1697 E, V of TVTAMEN with traces of crossbar? (ESC 547 or 547a). *Edge knocks, almost very fine.*

400 Halfcrown, 1697 E, similar. *Almost very fine.*

401 Shilling, 1696 E, 1st bust (ESC 1084). *Reverse weak, otherwise very fine.*

402 Shilling, 1696 E, similar. *Almost fine.*

403 Shilling, 1696 E, similar. *Almost fine.*

404 Sixpence, 1696 E, 3rd bust (ESC 1542A). *Almost very fine and the only recorded specimen of this mule (see Jackson-Kent, Spink's Num. Circ., May* 1961).

405 Sixpence, 1697 E, 1st bust, large crowns (ESC 1559). *Striated and with some corrosion, almost very fine.*

406 Sixpence, 1697 E, 1st bust, small crowns (ESC 1560). *Almost very fine.*

END OF SALE

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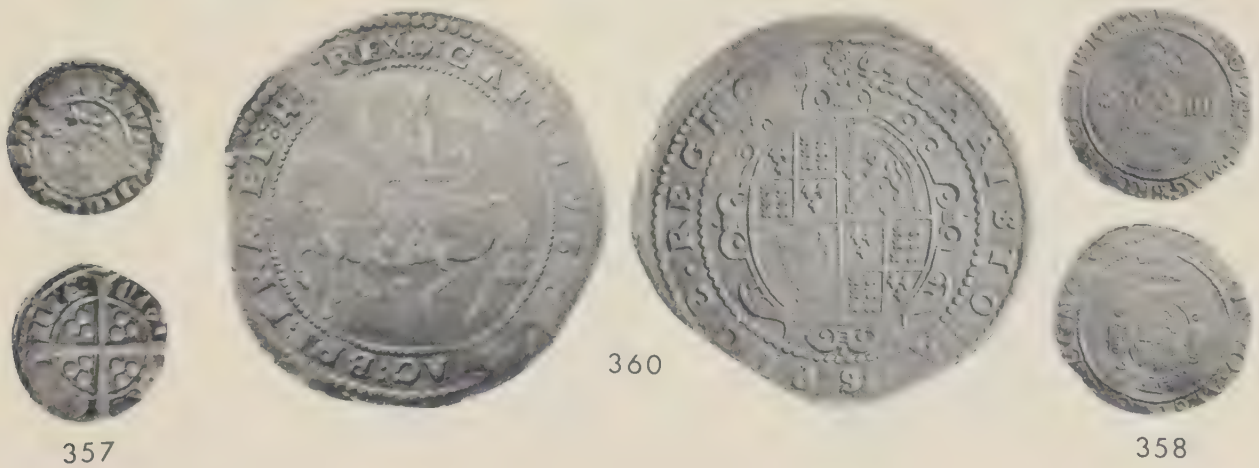

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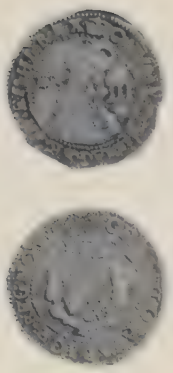

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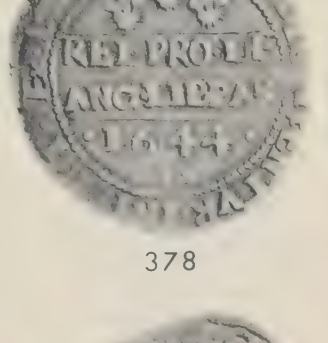

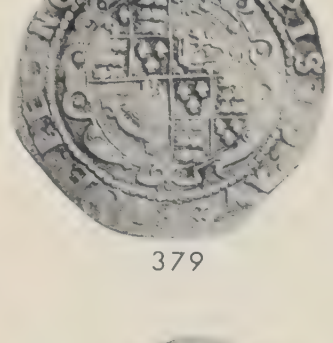

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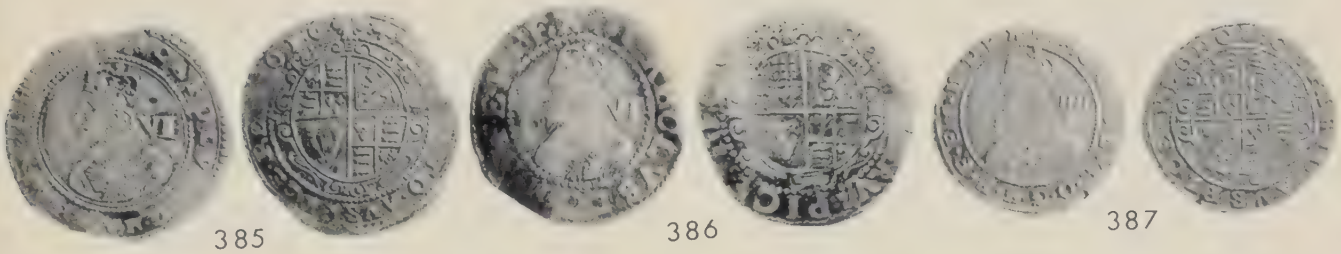

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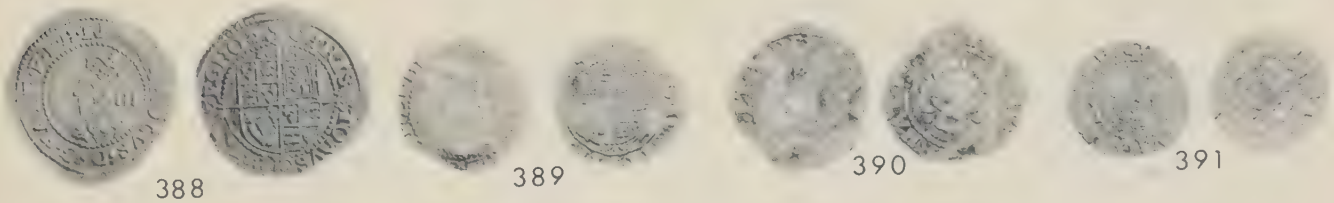

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